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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted as part of a larger research effort designed to examine the characteristics and social and occupational encounters of Mexican American migrant farm workers in their transition into an urbanized society. Specifically, the investigation was directed at surveying migrant workers in and around the Michigan area. Interviews with a random sample of household heads provided the data. Variables studied were: (1) social characteristics, including household composition and educational level, (2) backgrounds of migratory workers and characteristics of community stabilization, (3) occupational opportunities, (4) employment and income patterns, and (5) occupational and income mobility. Detailed findings of the study are included and tables provide statistical data of the variables studied. Of the sampled population, only 12 percent were born in Michigan or migrated there before age 16. A total of nine percent came before 1919, and 32 percent arrived in the early 1940's. Migration increased immensely in the 1950's, but declined in the late 1950's with the onset of the economic recession. Mostly born in Texas, recent migrants are somewhat younger than the resident Mexican Americans, have higher educational levels, and reside mainly in rural areas. (SN)

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Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities

Harvey M. Choldin
Grafton D. Trout

Department of Sociology
Rural Manpower Center
Agricultural Experiment Station
Michigan State University

1969

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Harvey M. Choldin

Grafton D. Trout

Department of Sociology
Rural Manpower Center
Agricultural Experiment Station
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

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The report cover which so well symbolizes the transition from agricultural to industrial employment, cherry picking to automobile assembly, was conceived and executed by Robert Brent.

Harvey M. Choldin
Grafton D. Trout

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INTRODUCTION

1. Migration and Urbanization.

The migration of Mexican-Americans into the cities of the midwest is a rather recent phenomenon. Most immigrants from Mexico and citizens of Mexican descent live in five southwestern states and their original settlement and subsequent immigration in that region are of long duration. In fact, settlement of some parts of that region by the ancestors of the present-day Mexican-Americans preceded the arrival of the now-dominant Anglos.

One part of the migration from Texas to the midwest has been underway for several decades, that is, the annual seasonal migration during the northern farming months for agricultural work in this region, followed by autumn return to home communities in Texas. This recurrent migration of farm laborers preceded the resettlement which we are studying and reporting. Although this agricultural migration is continuing, it has declined in recent years in this region with the development and use of mechanical agricultural equipment which decreases the need for manual field labor.

In Michigan, and in other midwestern states, over the past three decades, increasing numbers of migratory farm workers have been staying after the end of the agricultural work seasons, seeking employment on a year-round basis. Some of these settlers remain in agriculture-related work in rural small towns, but most settle in communities with industrial employment opportunities. The recency of this migration and settlement is reported in Chapter 2.

The overall social process through which these settlers are passing in Michigan can best be viewed as the process of urbanization. They are leaving one way of life, usually migratory agricultural work, and entering and learning another, urban industrial work. This process of urbanization is complicated. It has a set of related components and it occurs over time, in fact, over generations.

The product of the urbanization process is an individual who has become integrated into an urban community. This has an instrumental aspect, an acculturative aspect, and an assimilation aspect concerned with the establishment of social relations in the city. The instrumental arrangements are perhaps the most urgent for the new settler. These involve arrangements for making an income and for housing himself and his dependents. The acculturative aspect involves learning the culture of the new community and internalizing it. This aspect of the process is slower and its effects may often be seen more clearly in the children of the migrants than in the settlers themselves. The establishment of social relations involves the settler's becoming involved in primary groups and social networks of various types in his neighborhood and larger community.

Each of these aspects is interesting in itself and requires a description of the migrant's career before settling in an industrial community as well as after settling. The instrumental arrangements, the primary concern of this report, involve a lifetime of job changes and, for many, a process of occupational mobility from low-paying and transitory jobs to higher-paying stable jobs. They also involve a process of searching for jobs. The acculturation process involves, most fundamentally, the learning of a new language for those who come as Spanish-speakers. It also often involves changing food habits, family values and norms, leisure time use, and other adjustments to a new culture. The establishment of social relations is often channeled by the process of chain migration whereby entire extended families move, over a number of years, from one community to another, helping each other make the move and helping the newcomers to settle.

The entire urbanization process is also linked to the establishment and development of urban ethnic subcommunities. Some Michigan cities have "Mexican neighborhoods" and others do not. Some migrants settle in such neighborhoods and later move out of them. Others remain in Mexican neighborhoods. Which occurs may be related to the extent to which the settlers establish social relationships with Anglos in the cities.

This is a brief introduction to the urbanization process. The process itself will be explicated as the data are presented in the balance of this report.

2. The Mexican-American Research Project.

The research which we are reporting began as a study entitled "The Mexican-American Migratory Farm Worker in Transition." It was to be a study of migrant farm workers who were settling in Michigan communities, viewed in terms of their social and economic adjustment to a new environment. The study reported here contains that research, but includes more--the focus broadened as the research developed, principally because of two major decisions made in the course of the study, one at the time of the original discussions between Michigan State University researchers and Department of Labor staff members, another after the end of the feasibility phase of the research.

One decision which broadened the focus of the study was to build the study around a representative sample of settled Mexican-Americans in the state. The consequence of this was that although the survey includes many settlers who dropped out of the migratory agricultural stream, it also includes significant numbers of Mexican-Americans who were born or raised as children in Michigan and also some who came here directly from the Southwest, but not as agricultural workers. Many of these persons who are not ex-farm workers are the sons and daughters of farm workers. Thus we will be able to see the effects of settlement on a second generation, reared in the new environment and we are able to compare them with the recent settlers coming out of the seasonal migrant stream.

The other important decision was to include a sub-study of the community leaders in the overall project in order to understand the context into which the newcomers were settling. This eventually became a set of community profiles of the eight communities or their major cities in which the survey took place. See Appendix A. This enabled us to begin to understand not only the settlers undergoing an urbanization process, but also the kinds of communities into which they are settling and the effects of differing aspects of the communities on the process. We have studied not only the overall communities in which the Mexican-Americans are settling, but also the ethnic subcommunities in which many of them live.

The overall effect of the sample design and the community context studies was to enable us to make a more comprehensive study of the urbanization process for Mexican-Americans in Michigan. In this context, we see the agricultural workers entering the industrial labor force, finding jobs and housing, and additionally we also come to see them in the context of different cities, different employment opportunity structures, and different ethnic subcommunities.

In one respect, however, the research is less comprehensive than we had originally intended. This is due to the prohibition by the U.S. Department of Labor of asking questions regarding religious participation. The deletion is evidenced by the continuation arrows marked over the intended questions on page 25 of the interview schedule. (See Appendix E.) Inquiry into religious affiliation and participation was included both because this has been an important aspect of migrant adjustment as revealed by past research and because our exploratory feasibility study had indicated its probable importance for this largely Catholic population. The local Catholic church or Protestant sectarian church seems often to be the major source of support both physically and emotionally for in-coming migrants and continues often to be the single focus of community participation. Consequently, religious institutions have widely ramifying effects on the resettlement process which, unfortunately, we were not able to link to other data provided by the study. The failure to collect the data which would have been provided by the deleted questions precludes the complete description of the respondents' organizational affiliations, participation, and social network by neglecting what is often its most important aspect. We regret this shortcoming but felt constrained to abide strictly by the requirement of the contractor.

3. Some Research Difficulties and a Possible Source of Bias.

We are not the first social researchers to learn that gathering information from people in the poverty sector of society is a very difficult task. Nonetheless, we must describe some of our difficulties and discuss some of the implications for the interpretation of the findings.

We succeeded in avoiding at least one of the principal failings in survey research among members of minority groups and among members of poverty populations. It is usually found that persons in such circumstances are afraid of outside interviewers and attempt to avoid being interviewed or refuse to supply information, or worse, give distorted or expected information. In our study we worked in collaboration with the Mexican-American leaders in the various communities studied and we employed Mexican-American leaders in the various communities studied and we employed Mexican-American interviewers and supervisors and other staff members. The interviewers were mostly housewives residing in the communities in which they interviewed and were bilingual in Spanish and English. (See Appendix D on interviewing for a more complete discussion of these procedures.) Through these means we achieved a relatively low refusal rate and the interviewers found the respondents to be cooperative. The staff and interviewers, therefore, are not suspicious of the veracity of the responses.

The main difficulty arose out of the geographical mobility of the poorest families in the population studied. In order to have a random sample of Mexican-American households in the counties studied, the first step was to prepare a complete enumeration of all families of Mexican descent in each entire county. This proved to be a very detailed, time-consuming, arduous, and expensive task. (Refer to Appendix B on the sample for a description of the listing procedures and the quality of the lists.) After the lists were completed we felt that proper procedures had been followed and that the lists were the best that could be prepared. Nonetheless, some of the entries in the lists were as old as 18-24 months. From these lists we drew random samples for each county. Consequently, in the cases in which the name represented an extremely poor family which moved frequently because of inability to pay rent regularly or for other reasons, the family was often lost to the study. In many cases the interviewers or their supervisors were able to track down the family and complete the interview, but some were lost. We have investigated, to the extent possible, the degree to which this distorts the survey sample. It appears to be somewhat less a problem than anticipated. If there is a bias in the sample, it is that it may over-represent stable families who do not move frequently and may under-represent families who move frequently without leaving forwarding addresses. Unfortunately, these characteristics are associated with other important variables: the stable families are likely to be the ones in which the household head has established a steady job, and the moving families are likely to be those with the smallest, most undependable incomes and to have other problems associated with this.

4. Some Unique Features.

We feel that the survey data analyzed in this report represent a unique and valuable resource which will prove useful in various ways. The cooperation of the respondents, in conjunction with diligent work on the part of interviewers and very close supervision and editing of interviews, has produced high-quality interview protocols. These include entire life-histories of each of the household heads interviewed, indicating a complete career of jobs and of migration moves since age 16. There are probably no more than a few similar sets of occupational and migration life histories of a statistically sound sample of an American poverty and working-class population. Further analysis of these career histories promises to give additional insight into the processes of geographical and occupational mobility of persons beginning at low socio-economic positions. Mrs. Nancy Tuma, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, is presently working on a mathematical model of the job change patterns. Dr. Thomas L. Conner, of the same department, has completed a paper on the probabilities of movement out of migratory farm work as a first job[1] using these data. Additional work is anticipated.

5. The Authors' Perspective.

Most studies of Mexican-Americans have been written by anthropologists whose concern has been cultural values, norms, and behavior patterns. This has lead to an image of the Mexican-American as a passive receptor of a traditional culture which has held him back in the process of assimilation into American society and prevented upward mobility toward middle class status, the assumption being that only through acculturation will he come fully to share the benefits of affluent American society. This view has come to be criticized by an increasing number of social scientists and Mexican-American leaders. The point of view of the authors of this study is largely sociological and thereby attempts to avoid explanation by reference either to imputed cultural traits or psychological states of mind or ethnic personality traits. Rather, we believe that the situation in which the Mexican-American finds himself is a product of the history of his ethnic group in American society, differing by region and even by community. Further, we view this history, not as a story of stagnation, inaction, and passive despair but as a series of attempts to survive and to move forward against formidable odds in local communities or by migration to apparently greater opportunities where often the odds may have proved little better. Indeed, we are particularly concerned with movement and change and therefore our perspective is likely to be quite different from that of the anthropologist studying a particular community where stability and continuity may be more striking. Nevertheless, we believe that the Mexican-American subculture has, in one sense, always been "emerging" out of the historical interplay of the forces that have shaped this minority's position in U.S. society. If our picture of the Mexican-American in Michigan fails to resemble that drawn by anthropologists in the Southwest, or even South Texas,[2] we can only respond that in a dynamic and mobile situation one should expect no less, unless one is committed to a notion of absolute cultural continuity and determinism. Michigan's Mexican-Americans are not homogeneous socially or economically. Their diversity is a product of the differential socio-economic mobility they have experienced here, some moving ahead rapidly in level of living over the decades, their children achieving higher levels of education; others still caught in a vicious circle of deprivation, scarcely improved over that experienced in San Antonio or the Rio Grande Valley or in the migrant stream. We believe that this diversity itself from family to family, from city to city, must be explained by sociological variables inherent in the situation, not by reference to some imputed stereotypic subcultural traits whether thought to be attributable to Mexican-American culture or to a culture of poverty. But in viewing the members of our sample as, in different respects and in varying degrees, products of their experience and present situation, we do not consider them passive actors in their current settings. To the contrary, we have been impressed by the change arising from the initiative of Mexican-Americans themselves, both in respect to their personal life situations and that of the minority subcommunity. Nor is this a wholly recent phenomenon for, to some degree, it began several decades ago when Mexican-Americans from Texas first began to resettle in Michigan cities in significant numbers. They were neither passively acculturated and assimilated into the new communities nor did they simply unpack their cultural baggage and set up new "little San Antonio barrios" in these new communities. Rather, the interaction socially, culturally and economically between these new residents and members and institutions of the receiving communities, particularly the schools, the churches and the factories, produced and is producing something, in some degree, new and unique. Thus we have found little need in this report for reference to the cultural values, norms and traits said to be typically Mexican-American. That these may be found in varying degrees among individuals, families, and communities, we do not deny. That much of the Mexican-American cultural heritage may be of worth and great present value even in this northern Midwestern setting, we recognize. We simply believe that cultural variables are less useful than others in explaining much that we are concerned with in this study. We believe that many of the values and norms thought to be characteristically Mexican-American such as familial orientation, fatalism, envy of leaders ("envidia"), and lack of community unity, may be shared with other Americans of similar positions in our society.[3] We are not convinced that they are peculiarly restrictive of Mexican-American assimilation and upward mobility. Furthermore, we believe that the findings of this study indicate that the maintenance of ethnic traditions and behavior patterns need not be detrimental to socio-economic advancement of Mexican-Americans. In our view, the role of cultural variables in the migration, resettlement, employment, education, and mobility of Mexican-Americans must be considered in the varying situational contexts into which migrants move and within which they and their children live.

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[1] "A Stochastic Model for Change of Occupation," unpublished paper, (February, 1969), Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.

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[2] See, for example, William Madsen, The Mexican-Americans of South Texas, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964 and Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.

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[3] For an explication of this point of view, see Edward Casavantes, "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma," Civil Rights Digest, (Winter, 1970), pp. 22-27 or Fernando Penalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 51, (July, 1967), pp. 405-417.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Chapter 1

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND EDUCATION

1. Some basic demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Size of place of current community of residence. Mexican-Americans in Michigan are a predominantly urban population.

Age. The median age of the male heads of household is about 40; female heads are slightly older with a median age of about 43.

Marital status. Almost all the male heads of household were married.

Characteristics of wives of household heads. The wives of household heads tend to be somewhat younger and have a higher level of education than their husbands.

2. Michigan Mexican-Americans as a whole. Because of the large number of young members in the Michigan Mexican-American population, there is a heavy burden of dependency on the working members of the population.

The evenness of the sex ratio for Michigan Mexican-Americans reflects the fact that most of the migrants come in family groups rather than as single males. It also reflects the fact that the migration has taken place over a sufficient number of years for families to reconstitute themselves in Michigan and to establish a normal sex ratio rather than one which is heavily male.

3. Household composition. The predominant type of household is a conjugal family of husband, wife and unmarried children living in a single dwelling unit with no other persons. The median number of persons in a household is 4.5.

The largest households are those headed by men in their forties. Households headed by males under 30 commonly have three or four persons in them. Those headed by men in their fifties and older tend to have fewer members.

The earlier residents (those who arrived before 1940) along with the most recent arrivals (those who came since 1960) are less likely to have large households. Most of the very large households are headed by men who arrived in the 1940's and 1950's.

The greater the education the smaller the size of the household.

The relationship between occupation and household size is not a clear one.

Low income families with incomes of less than $5,000 per year have a higher proportion of small households.

Families in cities are more likely to have small households than are those in rural areas or very small towns.

Most households have only two generations within them: parents and children.

Children in the household. The median number of children per household is four.

4. Education. The median level of educational attainment is six years. Persons with more education are found disproportionately in cities and persons with no education or only primary grades completed are more likely to be in rural areas and small towns.

Although the education level was very low for the Mexican-Americans studied, they nonetheless had more education than their parents.

The respondents' children: dropping out. During the age period 16 to 18 there is a rapid attrition of Mexican-American school enrollment.

Higher education. The proportion of Mexican-American youth attending college is far beneath the national or state averages, resulting in a failure of Mexican-American young people to be educated to rise above the manual occupations of their parents.

Educational trends. The overall trend for the Mexican-American population is toward increasing levels of education attainment.

The younger people have a much higher level of educational attainment than the older people in the Mexican-American population.

Over the years, the Mexican-Americans have consistently increased their level of education; each age group is more highly educated than the group just older than it.

The older people in the Mexican-American population have dismally low levels of education. About one-third of the males over age 65 have had no education and an additional one-third have had less than five years of education. Older women have had even less education.

5. Educational age-grade retardation. The concept "age-grade retardation". Age-grade retardation may be viewed as performance which is not in line with the expected age and grade level. Mexican-American children are older than the modal age for each grade level and they tend to quickly fall behind their age peers in school.

Age-grade retardation as a "risk" variable. Age is one of the most important factors in age-grade retardation; at younger ages we find smaller proportions retarded and as age increases (especially in the teens), retardation rates start to rise at a rapid rate. Retardation is clearly a "risk" conditioned variable since each additional year of school presents one more possibility of failure of promotion.

Comparison of Michigan total, non-white and sample Mexican-American retardation. Mexican-Americans are relatively disadvantaged in terms of their age-grade progress--clearly more retarded than the Michigan population as a whole.

Backwardness in age-grade school progress occurs to a considerably greater extent among males than females.

In general, better educated heads have children who are less retarded. This relationship is not perfectly linear; however, children of heads having no education appear to be doing quite well. This finding may imply that heads with no education may apply more pressure for their children to do well than do heads with low educational achievements who feel they are "getting along" and consequently put little pressure on their children to do well.

The higher the family income the less likely the child is to be retarded.

When education is controlled by income, those low on both variables have a higher percent age-grade retarded whereas those high on both have significantly lower percents.

Heads having higher SEI's have significantly less age-grade retardation among their children.

There exists neither a linear relationship between family size and retardation nor any easily interpretable relationship at all.

Retardation rates of children among college aspirant heads and non-college aspirants show little significant differences.

Speaking mostly Spanish by the head leads to higher retardation of his children while speaking mostly English or a combination of both Spanish and English leads to lower retardation rates among Mexican-American children.

Those heads low in preference for Mexican exclusivity have children with retardation rates which are the lowest for each age group while those who are high have the highest retardation rates for each age group. For low family income, above relationship seems to hold up, but in the high family income group it seems to reverse itself.

Retardation does not seem to be determined by how much a child's parents move.

Birthplace and place of early residence of head. If a child's head of household was born or raised in Texas, his possibility of being age-grade retarded is increased.

The number of years a head is exposed to the Michigan environment affects the age-grade performance of his offspring. Those with the lowest amount of exposure (1960-1967 group) have clearly the highest retardation rates.

Chapter 2

MIGRATION AND COMMUNITY STABILIZATION

1. Migratory Background

Most of the Mexican-Americans in Michigan have been highly migratory people, having spent several years of their lives as migratory farm workers before settling in Michigan.

1) Childhood homes. The typical migration pattern was to have a home base in Texas where the migrant stayed the five winter months and to spend the other seven months on the road

2) Kinship organization. The work groups of the Mexican-American migratory workers are often integrated within their kinship organization; the oldest or most enterprising member of the extended family acting as the crew leader.

2. Geographical Origins

1) Nativity. One-fourth of the heads-of-households of the Mexican-American families in Michigan are immigrants. Forty-one percent are first generation Americans (parents born in Mexico), 19 percent are second generation (grandparents born in Mexico), and 15 percent are third generation or higher (grandparents born in the United States). Only 13 percent of their spouses were born in Mexico.

2) United States origin. Sixty percent of the respondents were born in Texas and 11 percent in Michigan. In contrast 45 percent of spouses were born in Texas and 20 percent in Michigan. The smaller proportion of spouses born in Texas and Mexico seems to indicate a tendency for single Texas-born men to migrate to Michigan and marry Michigan-born girls. Forty-seven percent of the in-migrants were unmarried when they settled in Michigan.

3) Texas origins. The Texas to Michigan migrants come from a very concentrated relatively small section of Texas; chiefly the San Antonio area and the southeastern counties. Eighty-one percent come from counties located in "The Valley". Seventeen percent come from the counties of Bexar, Comal, Hays, Travis and Atascosa. Six percent stem from the San Antonio-Austin region and the remaining four percent originated in Webb County.

a) Economic status. Massive poverty among Mexican-Americans in Texas constitutes a powerful economic push for out-migration.

b) Urban-rural origin. Most of the in-migrants grew up in relatively small towns resulting in the need for a re-socialization process to accompany the transition from rural to urban life. A significant number of migrants do come, however, with a good deal of previous contact with cities.

c) Characteristics of men at the time of leaving Texas. About two-thirds of the 626 males in the sample had lived in Texas. About one-half of them had migrated from small cities or towns to medium-sized Michigan cities. The other half had come from medium-sized Texas cities and migrated to medium-sized cities in Michigan.

d) Transitions in the migration to Michigan. In the second move from the first community in Michigan to the next, many stay in the same size range. The majority of those who move into different sized communities move into larger ones.

Migration usually reflects an agriculture to industry shift. There were almost no white-collar workers among those leaving Texas. The industries of agriculture (34%), manufacturing (13%), construction (10%), and repair services (6%), account for the last held jobs in Texas for a majority of Michigan migrants. The median socio-economic index for the men at the time of leaving Texas is about 10; extremely low as the possible range is between 0 to 100.

e) Age. The median age of men when they left Texas was approximately 27.

f) Place of birth. Three-fourths of the migrants were born in the United States; the remaining one-fourth was born in Mexico.

g) Educational attainment. The median educational attainment of the men who left Texas was fifth grade. Although this figure seems shockingly low, it is relatively high in comparison to the average years of education for the Mexican-American population in Texas counties of out-migration.

3. Year of Arrival in Michigan

Of the sample population, 12 percent was born in Michigan or migrated here before age 16. Nine percent of the settlers came here before 1929. Only 4 percent came during the decade of the depression. Thirty-two percent arrived in the early 1940's correlated with an abundance of jobs in factories producing war materials. Migration increased in the early 1950's and declined in the late 1950's with the onset of the economic recession.

Persons relatively recent to the migrant population are somewhat younger, are more likely to have been born in Texas, and have somewhat more education than the resident Mexican-American population. The urban areas have higher proportions of persons who arrived earlier, and the rural areas have higher proportions of newcomers.

4. Maintenance of Ties with Texas Towns

Settlers maintain kinship ties in Texas by making visits and sending money back to relatives.

5. Some Social-Psychological Aspects of the Move to Michigan

a) Employment opportunities. Sixty percent of the migrants gave job related reasons for migration and settlement.

b) Discrimination. Although repression and discrimination is a common source of migration, only 13 (2%) said they had left Texas for these reasons.

c) Kinship proximity. The desire to be near kinfolk was the second most important reason for migration given by respondents.

2) Precipitating event. Seventy percent decided to stay in Michigan after finding a job. Others resettled when they married a Michigan girl.

3) Information.

a) Employment opportunities. Sixty percent had some ideas about jobs in Michigan. It is surprising that the remaining 40 percent settled in Michigan without any information regarding jobs.

b) Housing. Only about 30 percent had heard anything regarding the housing situation. Thirteen percent of these had heard that it was difficult to find adequate housing. Others had heard that housing would be provided by their employer. The remaining 45 percent had heard something favorable regarding the housing situation.

c) Treatment of Mexican-Americans. Of the few who had information regarding treatment of Mexican-Americans in Michigan, 90 percent had heard that treatment was good.

d) Informational channels. Migrants received most of their information regarding employment, housing and treatment of Mexican-Americans in Michigan from friends and relatives. The mass media played no part in the collection of such information.

6. Chain Migration

Migrants tend to move according to chain migration, a process in which one member of a kinship group moves to a new place and later helps others join him. One-third of the migrants had relatives already and one-fourth had friends in the first city in which they settled in Michigan.

7. First Housing

During the first year in Michigan about 30 percent of the settlers lived on a farm; the remaining 70 percent lived in urban places. In that year approximately 50 percent stayed in their first residence while the rest made one or more moves. Almost half shared their first housing, usually with kinfolk or friends. In locating their first housing approximately one-fourth were aided by friends, and one-fourth by relatives. Some received housing as part of their job, living on the grower's or processor's property and 14 percent found housing by just looking around. Only 6 percent utilized want ads.

8. Stabilization

1) Moves within Michigan. The process of settlement appears to be one in which the farm worker works in one or more agricultural areas in the state, then moves to a city to work, and stays.

2) Inter-city migration. Older residents are more likely to move and to have moved more than once than younger ones. A much greater proportion of males than females have moved. Persons who were formerly migrant farm workers and uneducated persons were more likely to have made inter-city moves. No relationship between rates of residential mobility and occupational categories or between inter-city migration and socio-economic status were found. The size of the community of current residence was also not found to be a related variable.

3) Experience in the migrant stream. Those who had formerly been migrant workers have somewhat lower residential stability than those who were never migrants.

4) Size of present community. People living in rural communities with populations under 2,000 have the lowest proportion of long-term residents. Small towns (2,000-19,999) and larger towns (20,000-99,999) have the highest proportion of long term stable residents and the smallest proportion of newcomers. Medium-sized cities have a somewhat smaller proportion of long term residents and more people who have been there from two to nine years. These findings indicate that Mexican-Americans are not in the communities as temporary transients.

5) Years of continuous residence. A large proportion of Mexican-Americans have become stable residents of the communities in which they have settled. The median years of continuous residence is 5. More than one-third of the sample population had lived continuously in the same community for ten or more years. Thirty-eight percent, however, are considered newcomers, having lived in their present communities less than two years.

6) Variables associated with stability.

a) Year of arrival. Those who arrived in Michigan in the 1930's and 1940's have the highest stability; 60 percent having resided in their present cities for ten or more years.

b) Age. Older persons, particularly those over 60, have the highest residential stability.

c) Education. There is no systematic relationship between the level of educational attainment and community stability.

d) Occupation and SEI. Although the relationship is not simply linear, it appears that the higher the socio-economic index, the higher the probability of high community stability.

9. Moving Away From the First Job in Michigan

Many of the migrants have never moved away from the first town in which they settled in Michigan. Most of those who left their first community were seeking better jobs. Some moved to be closer to relatives.

10. Commitment to the Move

The commitment to stay in Michigan seems to be quite high. Almost all of the respondents said they felt that their current community in Michigan was their "hometown".

Chapter 3

FINDING JOBS

1. Economic Absorption

Employment is the essential foundation for the long process of cultural integration.

2. Finding the First Job in Michigan

An immigrant's ability to find work will depend greatly on the information he can acquire. Having friends and relatives in the new community often influences the types of job search patterns followed.

1) The reception base and information about jobs. Immigrants with a reception base of friends and/or relatives were more likely to have information regarding jobs. Almost none of the Mexican-Americans who arrive after those persons they know have already settled in the state are going to new areas; consequently new job markets are not being explored.

2) The reception base and methods of getting work. Mexican-American migrants in Michigan communities obtained their first job most often by going directly to the company and applying. Chain migration commonly leads to chain occupational placement whereby prior immigrants direct their later fellows to particular niches in the employment structure. Friends have a more pervasive influence on the manner in which new arrivals obtain their jobs than do relatives. When friends and relatives are not present to form a reception base, migrants seek assistance from formal agencies.

3) Information about jobs. Most of the new arrivals in Michigan have some information about jobs. Relatives are used more often to help secure a first job by those who do have such information. Persons with no information rely somewhat more often upon friends.

4) Search for a specific job in Michigan. In looking for a specific job, the immigrant is more likely to rely on his own personal initiative.

5) Help needed. One-third said that they needed nothing to obtain their first job in Michigan. The remaining two-thirds said they needed references, better English ability, a car, more education, more information on job opportunities and more skill and experience.

3. Comparison of the Methods of Finding the First and Present Jobs

1) Relative consistency in finding the first and present jobs. The order of importance of the different methods in securing employment was relatively consistent. Of the relatively few who abandoned their first means of getting work, the largest number went directly to the company for their present job.

2) Occupation and job finding. A relatively high degree of consistency seems to prevail in the manner in which occupations and job finding patterns are related by first and present jobs. Independent search by going directly to the company and looking around with less reliance on personal contacts is more frequent in finding present jobs.

3) Industry and job finding. In general, there is no correlation between particular methods of job finding and distinctive distributions of jobs by industry.

4. Finding the Present Job: Situational Variables

1) The type of job shift and finding the new job. There is no unique pattern of job finding characteristic of any type of job shift.

2) Ethnic composition of work unit. There is an association between the methods of finding present jobs and the presence of other Mexican-Americans in the same work unit. The less personalized the method of obtaining the job, the greater is the likelihood of finding a job at which no other Mexican-Americans are employed. Only one in every five workers is presently employed by an employer having no other Mexican-American workers on the job.

3) Job finding and the size of employing organizations. The larger the company and therefore the more visible in the community, the greater the proportion of its Mexican-American work force recruited by direct, independent means. The influence of friends is substantially reduced as the size of the organization increases. Influence of friends, however, remains relatively constant.

5. Finding the Present Job: Personal Background Variables

1) English language ability. It would seem that those who lack ability to use English would require the help of bi-lingual persons in obtaining a job.

a) When English was learned and finding the first job in Michigan. The hypothesis that the ability to speak English affects how Mexican-American migrants seek and find jobs was not verified in this study.

b) Adult language preference and finding the present job. The use of friends, relatives or other persons accounts for over one-third of the acquisition of present jobs by most Spanish speakers but only somewhat over one-fourth of those speaking Spanish about half the time at home and full-time English speakers.

c) Making out applications in English and job finding methods. The data provided in this study did not allow for a conclusive answer to the question of how important and in what ways English ability among Mexican-American immigrants influences how jobs are obtained. It did, however, point to a somewhat negative correlation that might be explained by any or all of the following reasons: 1) English is perhaps less important in the job search range of the lower skilled person, and 2) When a person is aware of deficiencies in relation to requirements for jobs, he may select himself out of that particular segment of the job market.

2) Education and job finding. The relationship between the education which a person has and the means he used to attain his present job is not high.

3) Age and job finding. Here again, the relationship between age and particular job finding methods is not significant.

4) Years in Michigan and finding the present job. About one-third of the jobs obtained up to 15 years of residence are found with the assistance of friends, relatives or other persons. After 15 years this drops to one-fourth. Looking around tends to increase with years of residence but going directly to the company remains relatively constant. Social agencies become more important with increased residence.

5) Job training and job finding. Those persons having adult education and specific job training continued to find employment in essentially the same manner as those who had not participated in such programs. Military training seems to have had a greater influence upon ways of getting a civilian job than either adult education or civilian job training; veterans tended to go directly to the company and state employment agencies. Those who have a particular skill appear to use formal channels through which they can sell that skill directly.

6) Discrimination and job finding. The feeling of discrimination in employment in Michigan is not a salient one among these respondents. It may be the case that relatively few of them have reached the threshold in job aspiration and search at which discrimination may be practiced.

Chapter 4

MAKING A LIVING: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME PATTERNS

1. The historical occupational and industrial distributions of the Michigan Mexican-American labor force.

1) Occupational distributions, 1940-1947. The Mexican-American labor force doubled in size during W.W. II and again during the first five years following the war.

Since 1940 there has been a steady decline in the proportion of workers classifiable as either farm or non-farm laborers.

The proportion of the labor force segment comprised of Mexican-Americans working as operatives accounts for nearly one-half to two-thirds of all occupations.

The nearly six-fold increase in percent retired from 1960-1967 represents the advance to retirement age of earlier migrants.

Clerical, sales and service workers are under-represented among Mexican-Americans in Michigan. There appears to be a pattern of inheritance of factory employment regardless of educational advancement of second generation residents.

Using increasing numbers of Mexican-Americans employed as craftsmen and foremen as criteria, there has been no significant occupational up-grading.

The number of self-employed and managerial workers has increased slowly with the growth of the Mexican-American sub-community.

Unemployment among migrants seems to be a function of general economic conditions and resulting labor force demand.

2) Industrial distributions, 1940-1967. There has been a steady decline in the percentage of workers employed in agriculture since 1940.

Motor vehicle and kindred metal fabrication industries have always provided over half the jobs held by Mexican-Americans in Michigan.

For many migrant farm laborers, construction has been a complementary form of part-time employment.

2. The first job in Michigan.

1) Changing occupations with migration. Three-fourths of those migrating to Michigan changed occupations as they obtained their first jobs here.

2) The first job in Michigan by occupation. In-migrants versus local. Distributions of first jobs differ less between in-migrants and local labor force entrants than between both of these and the ultimate distribution of present or last jobs held by these same workers after varying numbers of years of participation in the Michigan labor market.

Education seems to be less rewarded among Mexican-American males first employed in white collar, clerical and sales and service occupations than one would expect by national ranking of these occupations. Although Mexican-American service workers had as much education as craftsmen and foremen, they made only three-fourths as much money each week.

In respect to their first jobs in Michigan, Mexican-Americans are found in lower levels of clerical, sales and service occupations at pay incommensurate with their educational achievement.

The mean number of years in the migrant stream is negatively related to increase in occupational status and education.

With the exception of clerical and sales workers, the higher the occupational status, the greater the mean duration of the first job in Michigan.

Craft and operative jobs are target jobs for Mexican-American migrants.

3) The first job in Michigan by industry. Industrial distribution of first jobs by migrant status. There is a tendency for sales and service jobs to be entry jobs for young beginning workers to a greater degree than for in-migrants and a slightly lesser tendency for these local workers to begin in construction or metals.

There is an inverse relation between the income derived from first jobs in Michigan and the educational attainment of the average worker.

Hours of work per week does not differ greatly by industry.

The mean number of years in the migrant farm labor stream for workers in each industry corresponds closely to the mean educational level. At least 50 percent in all industries except those in services, education and professional services, have had some migratory farm labor experience.

Mexican-Americans employed first in Michigan in sales and services have had a much greater propensity to change jobs.

Those workers who obtained employment in motor vehicles upon arrival in Michigan (or as their first job if born here) tended to keep it about nine years.

3. The present or last job in Michigan.

1) Occupational distribution by industry. A few industries account for the overwhelming majority of workers at each occupational level.

2) The present or last job in Michigan by occupation. There is a trend toward congruency over the working career in Michigan.

If there were not a reversal of the ranks of laborers and service workers relative to SEI (socio-economic index), there would be a perfect correlation between rankings on socio-economic status, education and pay of present or last held occupations.

The mean number of hours worked per week do not differ greatly by occupation except for those in professional, technical, managerial or proprietary work.

Occupational mobility is inversely related to years in the migratory stream.

With the exception of laborers, there does not appear to be much differenciation among present occupations and the tendency of workers to change jobs.

In respect to mean durations of all jobs held by workers presently employed in each occupation, there appears to be little variation.

3) Present or last job in Michigan by industry. The industries in which Mexican-Americans worked the longest hours, on the average, are those that have the lowest mean pay per week except for sales.

There is a correlation between years of migratory farm labor experience and shifts between first and present or last held jobs.

The mean tenure of present or last held jobs is remarkably high.

Regarding median year of arrival, those presently or last employed in agriculture were the most recent in-migrants.

In respect to hours worked, there does not appear to be any major discrepancy between Mexican-American workers and other employees.

In general, the working situation involves contact with other Mexican-Americans.

Three-fourths of the Mexican-Americans employed are union members.

Seasonal agricultural labor often provides a complementary employment for Mexican-American workers, especially during the first few years after resettlement.

The transition from field to factory; migrants in the field and the desire to settle. The difficulty of settling out of the migrant stream and finding urban industrial jobs is complicated by the fact that a majority of the migrants are at least forty years old.

Mexican-American migrants were more likely to have been born in larger communities than either Negro or white workers.

Three-fourths of the migrants had completed no more than a sixth grade education.

Work crews are often comprised of persons involved in a common familial network, and thus women and children are often found working in the fields alongside the men.

In general, migrants have extremely limited contacts outside the camps.

Those migrants who are younger and better educated and who have had more exposure to the non-farm jobs of the larger cities, more frequently report a desire to move out of agricultural jobs.

Age, education and size of hometown are factors which also affect the desire to settle in Michigan. There was no positive relationship, however, between having friends and relatives in Michigan and the desire to settle here.

Over two-thirds of those planning to stay in Michigan had completed more than six years of school.

Farm and migratory farm labor prior to settlement in Michigan. Those having migratory farm labor experience have always comprised at least half of the in-coming Mexican-Americans. Half of those settling in Michigan since 1961 had previously worked in the state as migratory farm workers.

Labor force experience of the ex-farm worker; the first job in agriculture. The period during which migrants began their working careers in farm work is important in determining how long they remained in their first jobs.

The impact of farm and migratory farm labor experience on distribution of first jobs by occupation after settling in Michigan is considerable for non-migratory local farm workers but much less significant for migratory ones.

With respect to the industry of the first job, local non-migratory farm background seems to make more difference than migratory farm labor experience.

Workers having local farm labor work and/or migratory work tend to be older than those with no farm work.

The mean years of school completed is considerably higher for those having no farm labor background of any kind than for those with it.

The propensity to change jobs does not vary greatly with the type of farm labor background.

There is little variation in the mean weekly pay for the first jobs in Michigan by previous farm labor status.

While those lacking farm experience found significantly higher status first jobs than those with such background, by the present or last job differentiation in mean SEI was greater and ranked very much as we would expect it to be given the educational and wage differences.

About one-fifth of the "direct" in-migrants have completed high school while only about one-tenth of the "migrant drop-outs" have done so.

There is a slight difference in the mean job shift record of the two groups of in-migrants. Those having no migratory farm labor experience in Michigan prior to settlement tend to have changed jobs somewhat less frequently and have held their first jobs longer than those who do. The difference in pay for first jobs is again slight. Similarly the differences between the socio-economic status index for first jobs are not impressive.

Job satisfaction and change. Among other favorably regarded features of the first non-farm job, nearly half mentioned pay first as a positive aspect.

Dissatisfaction with present employment does not seem widespread among Mexican-Americans but a desire and willingness to upgrade employment exists.

Work by other family members. The wives (approximately one-third), who were working were found to be over-represented in the operative category and under-represented in clerical categories when compared with other urban females. Although one in four of the wives is or has been employed in manufacturing, the next largest type of employment, excluding agriculture, is hospitals. About two-thirds of the working wives work the standard forty hours per week. Pay was generally very low; only one in five made more than $75 per week.

4. Income.

The 1967 income of Mexican-American heads of the household was in general lower than that of other white families in Michigan during 1959. Mexican-Americans often have only one wage earner per household and in general have occupations in the lower range of the socio-economic scale. Larger than normal household membership and frequency of minor children in the homes in conjunction with an inadequate income often force heads, especially female heads, to seek welfare.

1) Consumer behavior. The great majority of family heads are buying their houses.

Only about one in ten of the families is without its own car.

Most of the family heads said that they usually buy things that cost a lot of money on credit.

Only one-third of the Mexican-American family heads maintain checking accounts.

Nearly half of the family heads reported they have no savings at all.

Eight of every ten heads reported having a life insurance policy and a similar proportion have health insurance.

Chapter 5

GETTING AHEAD: OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME MOBILITY

1. From Father to Son: Intergenerational Mobility

1) Educational mobility. Nearly three-fourths of the males have surpassed their father's highest grade in school. In general, the lower the educational attainment of the father, the more likely is the son to be found in the same category with regard to his own highest grade completed. The father's completion of at least elementary school seems critical to high educational attainment. In such cases, a remarkable 44 percent of the respondents had completed high school. The father's going beyond grade school to complete one to three years more of education, however, does not seem to have greatly enhanced the son's probability of completing high school. However, when the father had completed tenth grade or more, he had greatly increased his son's chances of finishing high school and going beyond to at least one year of higher education.

2) Occupational mobility. Only one-fifth of the respondents had the same occupation as his father while another fifth worked in an occupation of lower status than his father. Thus, about two-thirds had experienced intergenerational occupational mobility. Nearly three-fourths of this mobility can be accounted for by farmers' sons who now work in non-farm occupations, mostly as operatives in factories. Operative occupations show the highest degree of occupational inheritance from father to son.

While it is true that considerable educational mobility has been experienced by the respondents, it is somewhat less impressive when viewed relative to the generally rising years of school completed by the total population and to the increased educational qualification for better jobs. The mobility, while important, is achieved within a relatively narrow segment of the occupational spectrum.

2. Mobility in Michigan: Intergenerational Mobility

1) Occupational mobility. Half the workers are in the same occupations that they began in. Only about one-tenth has a job in an occupation that would be ranked lower than that in which he entered employment in Michigan. About two-fifths have moved upward in occupational status, a little over half of these achieving upward mobility have moved from farm laborer to non-farm laborer or service worker into operative jobs. One-fourth have moved into craftsman or foreman jobs.

2) Wage mobility. For one-third of the sample, there was a decline in real wages between the first job in Michigan and the present or last job held. Nearly two-thirds of the workers though had improved their real income. The median increase was $23 and the mean increase was $13.

3) Socio-economic index mobility by occupation. The great majority of jobs held by Mexican-Americans in Michigan are in the lowest quartile of the socio-economic index which ranges from zero to 100. Craftsmen and foremen and drivers and operatives have done less well in socio-economic mobility

than in wage mobility relative to white-collar workers. Laborers have experienced a slight negative socio-economic mobility between their first and present jobs, despite achieving wage mobility nearly as great as operatives.

4) Industrial mobility. Two-fifths of the workers were in the same industries as those in which they began work in Michigan. Those in motor vehicles and motors were least likely to have held first jobs in other industries. Workers in construction and non-durables showed the next highest stability of industry.

a) Wage mobility by industry. Workers in sales have experienced much greater wage increases on the average than those in any other industry. Next highest in those making some gain in real weekly wages between their first and present jobs are workers in construction and metals. Then come those in motor vehicles, durable manufacturing workers, workers in education and professional services and finally, workers in non-durable manufacturing and services. Nearly two-thirds of transportation and utilities workers experienced a slight gain.

b) Socio-economic index mobility by industry. Sales, motor vehicle and durable manufacturing workers have made much greater gains between their first and present or last jobs in Michigan than those in other industries. Educational and professional services workers rank next.

5) The ex-migratory worker's mobility experience.

a) Occupational mobility and years in the stream. Workers having fewer years of migratory farm work tended to experience greater upward mobility.

b) Wage and socio-economic index mobility and migrant status. Workers who have done migrant farm work only since age 16 have achieved the greatest median increase in real wages. Those workers who had not done work in the fields of Michigan before resettling there experienced a $20.60 median increase in real wages between their first and present or last jobs while those who had worked in the migrant stream achieved a $26.25 median increase.

3. The Way They See It: Subjective Status Placement and Aspirations for the Future

1) Socio-economic status perception. Most Mexican-American heads of household perceive their own socio-economic status as occupying a lower-middle position in their respective Michigan communities. Mexican-Americans are generally optimistic about their opportunities for socio-economic advancement, especially on the part of their children.

a) Subjective status mobility. At least half of the workers in all occupational categories have experienced upward mobility. Those in white-collar occupations appear most satisfied with their progress while those in laboring jobs have the least feeling of moving ahead. One-fifth say they have lost ground and one-fourth have felt no change. Those who settle in Michigan out of the migratory farm labor stream have about the same mobility experience as those who have never worked in agriculture. The higher the wage mobility, the more likely the worker is to have a feeling of upward mobility.

2) The "good life". Of central concern to Mexican-Americans in achieving a "good life" was 1) adequate and comfortable housing, 2) education, particularly for their children, 3) a stable job, and 4) health and a long life.

3) Aspirations for children. Nine out of 10 heads expressed a desire for their children to have a college education. No more than 1 percent thought that anything less than a full high school education was adequate. Three-fourths hoped their sons would choose a professional career. Significantly, only one out of nearly 700 said he would like his son to work in agriculture, even as a farm owner and not as a laborer.

Chapter 6

POLICY AND RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Policy Recommendations Regarding Mexican-American Labor Mobility, Training and Job Placement Programs.

   (1) Recommendations Regarding Settlers.

   Guided migration.

   1) The most successful migrants are likely to be those who are relatively young, certainly under 40, with smaller than average families, higher than average education, relatives or friends in the areas of resettlement, and occupational skills and preferences conforming to the demands of the local labor market in the area of resettlement.

   2) Given adequate employment opportunities for adult family members, migration should be encouraged and facilitated to smaller or middle-sized communities as an alternative to resettlement in major metropolitan areas.

   3) Preparation for migration, especially when training is necessary, should be accomplished in the place of origin where feasible as well as, or in addition to, facilitation of settlement in the place of destination.

   4) Use should be made both in preparation for migration and in facilitating settlement of the ethnic interpersonal and institutional bonds of the families involved.

   Needs of settlers-in.

   5) Any programs for guided migration and resettlement of migratory farm workers in the Midwest make use of the valuable experience accumulated by previous smaller-scale efforts in assistance to migrants settling out of the stream.

   New opportunities in industrializing agriculture.

   6) Develop programs by which migrant field workers can learn the necessary mechanical skills to continue in agricultural work in new positions.

   Complementary part-time employment in seasonal farm labor.

   7) Some experiments should be undertaken in systematically linking ex-migratory farm workers and members of their families desiring part-time farm employment to opportunities for such employment.

Income maintenance during resettlement.

8) Low-interest "settlement" loans and/or relocation payments should be provided to supplement income during the first year or so of settlement to needy dropouts from the migrant stream.

(2) Recommendations Regarding the Settled.

Employment upgrading.

9) Job training programs involving Mexican-Americans, particularly those having a high proportion of new settlers, should, where feasible, work with them in separate ethnically homogeneous groups and employ as instructors persons of Mexican-American background who are bilingual.

10) Adult education be focused specifically upon enhancing the possibilities of promotion and job upgrading among younger workers and that a larger portion of the responsibility for the preparation of Mexican-American workers for promotion be vested with the employer as contrasted to general educational programs.

11) Greater "outreach" is required by employment agencies and other organizations having placement responsibilities in attempting to overcome rigidities in the labor market which result in the underemployment of Mexican-Americans in terms of their skill levels, motivation or experience.

Entrepreneurial opportunities.

12) Activities of the Small Business Administration continue to be strengthened to provide loans for business development among promising Mexican-Americans in Midwestern communities.

Housing.

13) Provisions should be made through the modifications of inhibiting code or inspection requirements for the encouragement of self-help housing renovation by low-income owners and that tax increases be lessened or eliminated for certain types of improvements in low-income housing. Increased availability of home improvement loans at low rate of interest is also needed.

14) Strengthen efforts against housing discrimination in local communities which may restrict the opportunities for Mexican-American families to upgrade their housing as their incomes increase.

15) Efforts should be made, particularly in small and middle-sized communities, to increase the capacities of local housing to absorb low-income in-migrants commensurate with the absorptive capacities of the local labor market.

Education.

16) Special "head start" and, even more importantly, "catch up" programs should be developed in schools having substantial numbers of recent Mexican-American migrant children to prevent them from falling behind other children of their age.

17) Programs which require active participation and commitment from Mexican-Americans should be, whenever feasible, composed exclusively by this group and involve them in positions of authority within it.

New careers--paraprofessionals.

18) In Midwestern cities of high Mexican-American in-migration, new paraprofessional positions should be created for longer-resident and experienced Mexican-Americans who can mediate between professional agency personnel and new clients.

2. Recommendations for Further Research.

Need for 1970 census data for midwest Mexican-Americans.

1) Present census sample data by ethnicity in publications of the 1970 U.S. Census of Population and Housing for Midwestern states (at least Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio) as well as for the five Southwestern states for which it has been provided.

Metropolitan research.

2) A survey research study should be conducted of the Mexican-American population of Detroit or Chicago replicating some of the more important aspects of the present research.

Processual research.

3) Research support should be provided for focused processual studies to supplement findings of census and survey research.

Panel research.

4) Increased attention should be directed to those opportunities to build longitudinal studies on panels of families or workers being assisted in initial phases of resettlement or retraining making use of baseline data collected by these agencies of initial contact.

Need for contrast class data.

5) Future research should be directed at gaining information on unsuccessful and trapped potential settlers from the migratory farm labor stream and that such research should proceed at both ends of the migration channel.

Research coordination.

6) A working conference should be organized of researchers concerned with Mexican-American research, particularly with respect to Texas-Midwest migration to collate and assess the present information available and to confer regarding future research needs and priorities.

Chapter 1

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND EDUCATION

The sample for the survey was designed to represent the population of settled Mexican-Americans in Michigan outside the Detroit Metropolitan area. The sample was drawn in two stages: first, a sample of counties was drawn, and then a sample of household heads was drawn. Eight counties fell into the sample, and within them, 695 heads of households were interviewed. (See Appendix B for additional information on sampling.)

In this chapter we present some of the basic demographic characteristics of the household heads and their spouses, and additional demographic information about the members of the households with special attention to educational levels. Two basic areas which are not included in this description of the sample are migration and occupation, which are considered in detail in the following chapters.

1. Some Basic Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents.

(1) Size of Place of Current Community of Residence.

Mexican-Americans in Michigan are a predominantly urban population. Most of the households studied are in medium-sized cities. Three-eighths of them are located in cities of 50,000 to 99,999 population and an additional three-eighths live in cities of 100,000 to 249,999. The total of these two categories accounts for three-fourths of the entire sample (75%). About one-eighth of the households are located in rural places of population less than 2500 (12%). The remaining eighth are located in small towns of 2500 to 25,000 population. The middle-sized cities in which the large bulk of the population resides are industrial cities, most of which have heavy industry associated with the automobile industry. These are Flint, Saginaw and Lansing. In addition, Grand Rapids is in this same size range with a different industrial base. The cities mentioned have additional employment sectors; these will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on employment. Some of the smaller towns are suburbs of these cities and one town, Adrian, with a population of approximately 20,000, has a concentration of Mexican-Americans residing in and near it. The smaller towns in two of the counties are farming centers, and the household heads residing in these areas are involved in year-round agricultural work.

(2) Age.

The median age of the male heads of household is about 40; the female heads of household are slightly older with a median age of about 43. There are more young household heads than we had anticipated; one percent of the males are age 18 or 19 and almost 20 percent are in the 20-29 age group. The largest group among the males is in their thirties, accounting for 29 percent of the male heads of household. About one-fourth of the males are over age 50. The largest group of females is in their forties, accounting for about a fourth of the women (28%). More than a third of the women (34%) are over age 50.

Table 1-1

AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Age	Total N	Total %	Male N	Male %	Female N	Female %
Under 20	5	1	5	1	0	0
20 - 29	130	19	121	19	9	13
30 - 39	198	28	182	29	16	23
40 - 49	176	25	157	25	19	28
50 - 59	99	14	83	13	16	23
60 - 69	74	11	69	11	5	7
70 and over	13	2	9	2	4	6
Total	695	100	626	100	69	100

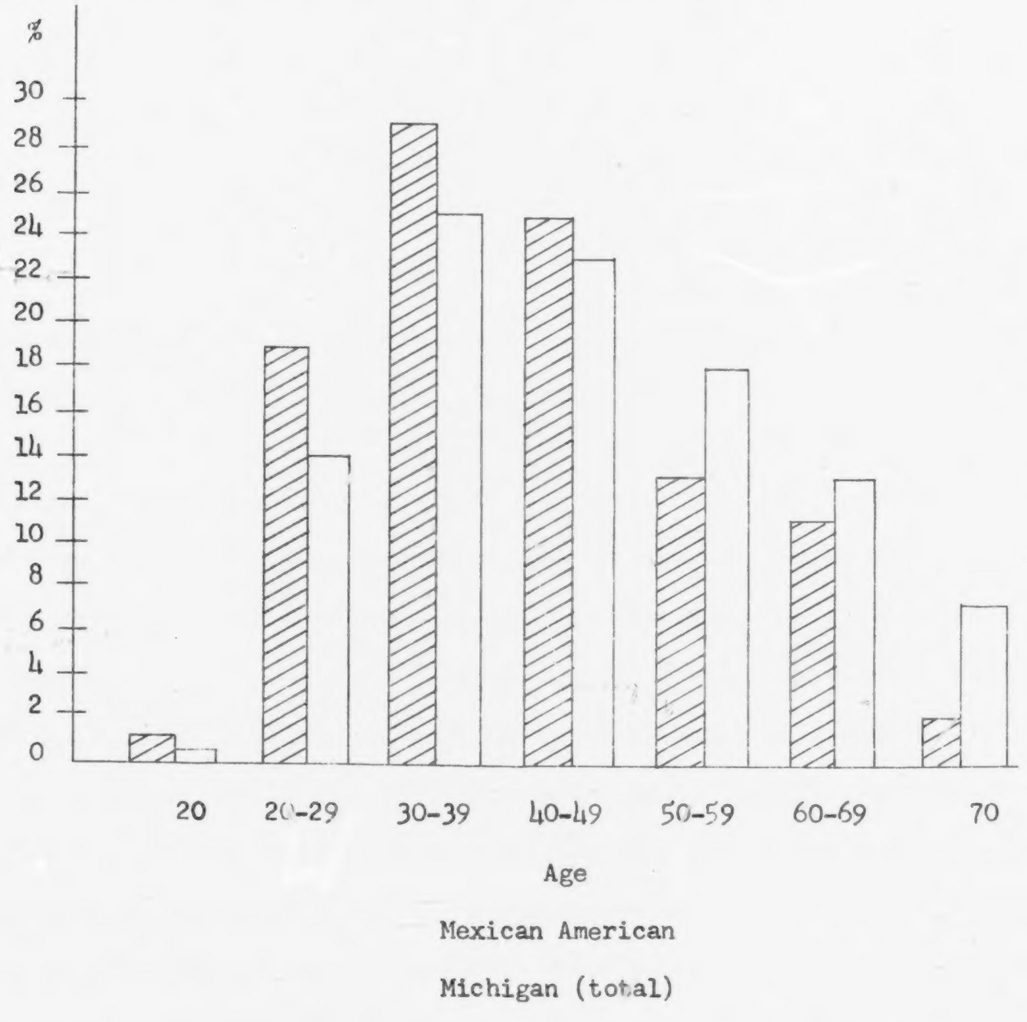
Median age, males: 40
Median age, females: 43

(3) Marital Status.

Almost all the male heads of household (95%) were married at the time of the interview. Less than 2 percent were single, one percent were divorced or separated and 2 percent were widowers. The distribution for the female heads of household, of course, is somewhat different. More than one-third (34%) of them were widows, thus accounting for the large proportion of older women in the sample. Almost one-fourth (23%) were divorced and another fourth were separated. This high rate of separation would be partially accounted for by the high proportion of Catholics among the Mexican-Americans. Seven percent of the female heads of household were single. Ten percent of the female heads of household were currently married--in these cases the women were the principal earners in their households because their husbands were disabled or for some other reason unemployable.

Figure 1-1

PERCENT BY AGE OF TOTAL MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: MEXICAN AMERICAN AND MICHIGAN TOTAL POPULATION [1]



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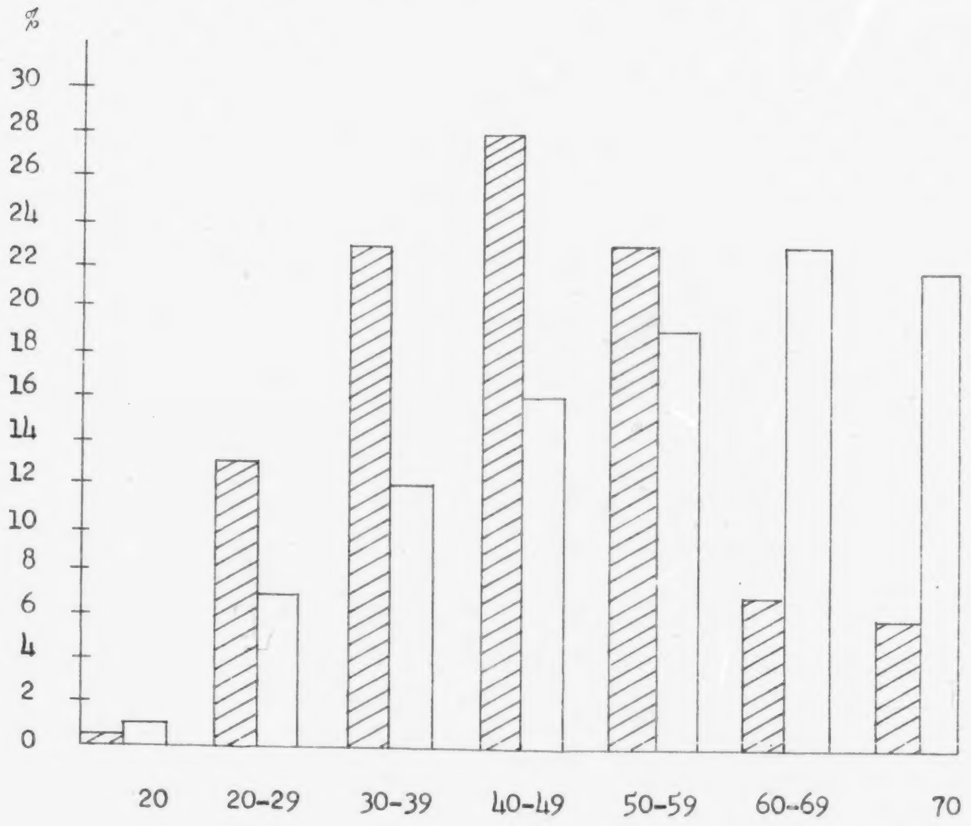
1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population:1960, Michigan, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1) 24D, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), 24-412-13.

Figure 1-2

PERCENT BY AGE OF TOTAL FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: MEXICAN AMERICAN AND MICHIGAN TOTAL POPULATION [1]



Age

Mexican American

Michigan (total)

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1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population:1960, Michigan, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1) 24D, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 24-412-13.

(4) Characteristics of Wives of Household Heads.

The wives of the household heads tend to be somewhat younger than their husbands with a median age of 35. The largest group of wives is in their thirties (31%), followed by women in their twenties (27%), and women in their forties (24%). The wives have a higher level of educational attainment than their husbands, with a median education of eight years completed. Other pertinent facts about the wives of the male heads of household will be found in the chapters on migration, which indicate the birthplace of the wives, and on employment, in which information on wife's employment is presented. These chapters also present basic information on the household heads.

2. Michigan Mexican-Americans as a Whole.

One important part of the interview was a household enumeration. In this section, the respondent enumerated each resident in the household and provided a set of information about each person including his age, sex, marital status, level of educational attainment, occupation and industry. In this enumeration, a total of 3,776 persons were listed in the 695 sample households. This can be used as a sample census of the Mexican-Americans outside the Detroit area.

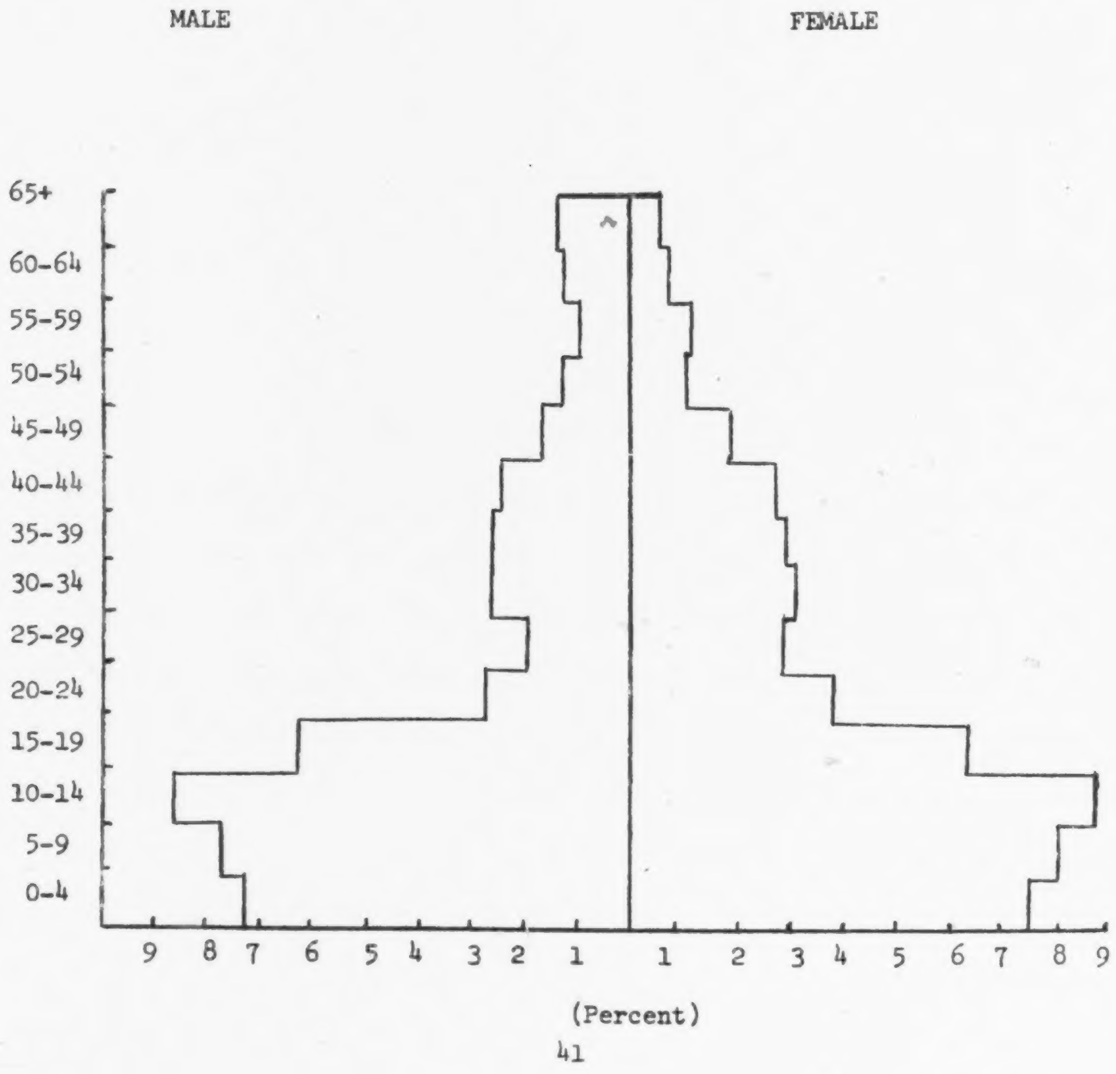
Some key points emerge from an examination of these sample census data. The most prominent finding is the extreme youth of this population. Sixty-seven percent of the Mexican-Americans are under age 25 as compared with 46 percent of the Michigan population as a whole in 1960. This extreme youth results in a heavy burden of dependency on the working members of the population who must produce income to provide for the children.

Figure 1-3

AGE-SEX PYRAMID

695 Mexican-American Households

(3765 Persons)



The dependency ratio of the Mexican-American population is 1.82 as compared with 1.09 for the population of Michigan as a whole in 1960. This means that every 100 Mexican-Americans aged 20 to 59, whom demographers consider to be the working or productive population, must provide sustenance for 180 children 19 years or younger and old people age 60 or older. This compares with 100 Michigan people providing for 109 dependent persons. The dependency ratio of the non-white Michigan population in 1960 was also much lower than that of Mexican-Americans; the non-white dependency ratio was 1.04. This Mexican-American dependency ratio is extremely high and even exceeds by a considerable margin the dependency ratio for persons of Spanish surname in the southwestern states, who also have a relatively high dependency ratio. The sex ratio of Mexican-Americans in Michigan is 96 males per 100 females, which is quite similar to the sex ratio of the American population in general and to the overall Michigan population in 1960, which had a sex ratio of 98. This sex ratio is lower than those of the persons of Spanish surname in the southwestern states where males outnumber females. The situation in the southwestern states reflects the immigration of males from Mexico and the presence of temporary male workers from Mexico. The evenness of the sex ratio for Michigan Mexican-Americans indicates something about the migration into Michigan. It reflects the fact that most of the migrants come in family groups, rather than as single males. (The movement of single males is a feature of many other migrations.) It also reflects the fact that the migration has taken place over a sufficient number of years for families to reconstitute themselves in Michigan and to establish a normal sex ratio rather than one which is heavily male.

3. Household Composition.

At the outset of this study we expected that because of the extended kinship relationships of the Mexican-Americans and because of the need for "doubling-up" in dwelling units in the early stages of settlement, we would find many households in Michigan in which more than one family was living. We did find that the Mexican-Americans maintain extended family relationships and that often there is doubling-up in the first housing. This will be indicated in later chapters on migration and social networks. However, most of the Mexican-Americans in Michigan are no longer living in their first residence after migration; most of them are no longer new settlers, and by now their residence and household patterns are similar to those of most other families.

The predominant type of household is a conjugal family of husband, wife and unmarried children living in a single dwelling unit with no other persons in the dwelling unit. The median number of persons in a household is 4.5. Households with only a single person in them are relatively rare,

Table 1-2

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

Number	%
1	2
2	9
3	14
4	16
5	15
6	13
7	10
8	9
9	6
10 or more	7
Total %	101
Total N	695

accounting for 2 percent of the households studied. Households with two persons in them account for 9 percent of the households. The most common households have three to six persons in them; these sizes account for 58 percent of the households. About one-third of the households have seven or more persons in them.

Table 1-3

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Household Size	Age Under 30	 30-39	 40-49	 50-59	 60 and over
1-2	8	4	6	15	22
3-4	59	18	20	26	43
5-6	26	38	28	23	17
7 or more	7	40	46	36	18
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	127	183	156	83	77

Young couples, that is those households in which the male head is under age 30, commonly have three or four persons in them. One-fifth of the households with young heads have one or two members and a fifth of such households have five or six members. Households headed by men in the 30-49 age group are less likely to have three or four members and are more likely to have five to eight. The largest households are those headed by men in their forties. The size of household is lower for those headed by men in their fifties and is even lower for those headed by men in their sixties.

Table 1-4

HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Household Size	Before 1940	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1967
1-2	28	11	7	4
3-4	37	25	19	42
5-6	18	25	37	27
7 or more	18	39	37	27
Total %	101	100	100	100
Total N	57	158	176	235

Year of arrival in Michigan is related to size of household, as well as to the age of the head of the household. The "old-timers" who arrived before 1940 have the fewest very large households. These men are in the older age groups and no longer have children residing in their households. Newcomers who came since 1960 are also unlikely to have very large households with more than seven members. These men tend to be younger and they have not achieved their completed family size. Most of the very large households are those headed by men who arrived in the 1940's and 1950's.

Education, occupation and income are related to some extent to size of household. Those heads of households with 9 years of education or more are much less likely to have very large households than are those with less education. Similarly, those with more education are more likely to have households with three or four members. (This relationship is complicated by the inverse relationship between age and education.)

Table 1-5

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD BY YEARS OF EDUCATION

Household Size	Years Completed				
	0	1-4	5-8	9-11	12 or more
1-2	13	9	9	4	9
3-4	27	23	26	38	47
5-6	21	26	30	35	27
7 or more	39	41	35	23	17
Total %	100	99	100	100	100
Total N	75	138	206	105	102

The relationship between occupation and household size is not a clear one. White collar workers have lower proportions of very large households than others, except for laborers, who also have a lower proportion of large households than do other blue-collar occupational groups.

Low-income families with incomes of less than $5,000 per year have a higher proportion of small households. Otherwise, there is very little relationship between income or occupation and household size.

Families in cities are more likely to have small households than are those in rural areas or very small towns.

Returning to household composition, we find that most of the households (82%) have two generations within them, parents and children. About 10 percent have only one generation -- these would most often be older couples but would also include some young couples which have not yet had any children. Seven percent of the households have three generations, which means that they also include grandparents within the home.

There reside in very few of the households any adults in addition to the head and his spouse. Eight percent of the households have additional adults, most often kinfolk of the head or spouse. In most households (56%) there is only one earner, but in more than one-fourth there are two (27%). An additional 10 percent have three or more employed persons in the household.

Very few of the households have other whole families (such as the head's brother and wife and children) living with the nuclear family. Three percent of the households have married couples in addition to the head and his spouse, and in some cases these are the head's or his wife's parents. In a few other households (3%), a relative resides with his or her children. In most cases this is a widowed or divorced sister with her offspring.

(1) Children in the Household.

The median number of children (age 20 or younger) per household is four, although about one in eight households has no children within it and one household has 13. Six percent of the households have eight or more children within them. These figures drop slightly when we count only the children of the head and his wife. In this case the median is closer to three children.

4. Education.

The respondents reported very low levels of educational attainment for themselves, making them very like Mexican-Americans in general in Michigan and in the Southwestern states. The median level of educational attainment for the sample as a whole is six years. Males attained this six-year level, and the median for females is five years. One in eight household heads had never attended school (12%). Forty-one percent had finished eighth grade or had gone further in school. Fifteen percent finished high school or had gone further. Less than 2 percent finished college or had gone on for professional education.

Persons with more education are found disproportionately in cities and persons with no education or only primary grades completed are more likely to be in rural areas and small towns. (See Table 1-6)

Table 1-6

SIZE OF COMMUNITY BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Size of Place	Years of Education 0 %	 1-4 %	 5-8 %	 9-11 %	 12 or more %
Up to 2,499	17	19	12	5	7
2,500-49,999	24	11	14	12	5
50,000-99,999	29	37	33	48	43
100,000-249,999	29	33	41	35	45
Total %	99	100	100	100	100
Total N	75	138	206	105	102

(1) The Respondents' Fathers.

The household heads and their spouses have very low levels of educational attainment, as has already been mentioned. Nonetheless, they have more education than their parents. Many of the household heads (43%) do not know how much education their fathers had. But of those who do know, most said that their fathers had never attended any school (48%). More than a fourth (27%) said that their fathers had attended school for one to five years, and the remaining fourth said that their fathers attended school for more than six years. Only six percent of the fathers graduated from high school or had additional education beyond high school.

(2) The Respondents' Children: Dropping Out.

During the age period 16 to 18 there is a rapid attrition of Mexican-American school enrollment. While 90 percent of the 16-year old boys and 93 percent of the 16-year old girls are classified as students, by age 18 the proportion of boy students drops to 44 percent and of girl students to 40 percent.

Table 1-7

PERCENTAGE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN TEEN-AGERS IN SCHOOL

Age	Boys In house	 In school	 %	Girls In house	 In school	 %
16	48	43	90	55	51	93
17	57	43	75	44	34	77
18	50	22	44	47	19	40

Strictly speaking, the decrease in the proportions of teen-agers attending school from age 16 to age 18 does not represent only dropping out of high school. A few of these young people may simply be graduating from high school during these years and are not continuing into higher education. Nonetheless, this rate of decline of school attendance is higher than the rate among the Michigan population and more comparable to that of non-whites. In 1965, the Current Population Survey estimated the enrollment rate outside the Southern states of 16-17 year olds to be 92 and 79 percent for white and non-white males respectively and 94 and 83 percent for white and non-white females. The comparable rate for 16-17 year old Mexican-American boys in Michigan is 82 percent. That for girls is 86 percent.

(3) Higher Education.

The proportion of Mexican-American youth attending college is very far beneath the national or state averages, both of which exceed 40 percent. Seven percent of the young people in the age group 17-24 attend any type of post-high school educational institution. A higher proportion of males (9%) than females (5%) is enrolled. These figures, if anything, tend to inflate the proportions attending institutions of higher education, as some of the persons counted as students were attending trade schools such as beautician's school or barber's college. Thus, the actual proportions attending college and universities would be lower than the percentages cited above. The Mexican-American young people in Michigan are not being educated to rise above the manual occupations of their parents.

Table 1-8

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE-AGE PERSONS ENROLLED AS STUDENTS

Age	N	In college or other post-high school education	%
Males 17-24	426	37	9
Females 17-24	415	21	5
Total	841	58	7

(4) Educational Trends.

Despite the low levels of education of the older adults, the high rate of dropping out and the low rate of college attendance, the overall trend for the population is toward increasing levels of educational attainment. High school attendance has increased over the years in this population. This can be seen in an examination of Table 1-9 which indicates the levels of educational attainment of the population in the household enumeration "sample census."

Table 1-9

PERCENTAGE OF AGE COHORTS BY SEX COMPLETING SPECIFIED LEVELS OF EDUCATION*

Age	Males					Females				
	None	8 Years	H.S. Grad.	Some college	College grad.	None	8 Years	H.S. Grad.	Some college	College grad.
20-24	--	5	32	9	--	--	4	45	6	1
25-29	1	4	35	11	1	1	12	31	2	2
30-34	6	11	17	6	3	4	18	13	8	2
35-39	3	22	10	--	2	4	10	16	1	1
40-44	6	8	8	2	3	13	9	7	--	--
45-49	11	9	3	--	3	16	6	11	--	3
50-54	23	11	--	2	--	28	5	13	--	--
55-59	38	5	--	--	--	37	2	2	--	--
60-64	45	3	--	--	2	36	8	4	4	--
65 and over	34	4	--	--	--	46	4	4	--	--

*Percentages in this table run across rows. The percentages are not cumulative. Some educational attainment categories have been omitted from the table, such as the percentage having some elementary education, but not completing eight years.

The table may be read in this fashion, for example: 32 percent of males aged 20-24 graduated from high school, whereas no males over age 50 fell into this educational category.

The younger people in the population have a much higher level of educational attainment than the old people. But, compared with other young people in the United States or in Michigan, their levels of educational attainment are still very low. Somewhat more than half the females aged 20-24 (52%) completed high school and 7 percent of the females in that age group attended college. (One percent completed college.) Among these young people, males get much less education than females. Forty-one percent of the males in that age group completed high school and 9 percent began college, although none graduated from college.

Over the years, the Mexican-Americans have consistently increased the levels of educational attainment. Each age group is more highly educated than the group just older than it. This may be observed by an examination of the columns in Table 1-9, indicating the percent of each age group having no education and the percent having graduated high school. For both males and females there are no persons age 20-24 who have never attended school, whereas among the older persons of both sexes almost half have never attended school. This same trend obtains for those who had one to four years of elementary education -- very few among the men and women in their twenties have had this little education -- whereas large proportions of those 60 and over fall into this educational category. Unless these persons who have had no education or only one to four years in school are self-educated or have attended some type of adult education program, we may safely infer that they are functionally illiterate.

Table 1-10

HIGH SCHOOL ATTRITION

Age	Started High School	Completed High School
Males		
20-24	83	41
25-29	75	47
Females		
20-24	70	52
25-29	68	35

Table 1-10 indicates the high attrition rate among young people entering high school in the past decade. From 30 to 50 percent of those who enter high school complete it. For girls the completion rate appears to be rising, while for boys it fell, comparing the younger with the older men.

The older people in the population have dismally low levels of educational attainment. For example, 34 percent of the males over age 65 have had no education and an additional 36 percent have had less than five years of education. Older women have had even less education: 46 percent had no education and an additional 38 percent attended school for less than five years.

5. Educational Age-Grade Retardation*

Various studies have shown that Mexican-Americans have lower levels of educational attainment than other segments of the U.S. population. Julian Samora has suggested that the educational system in the United States is one of the major vehicles for social mobility, but that Mexican-Americans have not taken full advantages of this opportunity.[1] Our concern at present is to attempt to discover what factors cause some Mexican-Americans to progress through the educational system and what factors keep others at a relatively low or retarded level.

(1) The Concept "Age-Grade Retardation."

The basic idea for the concept "age-grade retardation" is adopted from Bernert's America's Children:

> The school experience of children and youth in the United States is basically one in which the pupil enters a school system in a certain minimum age level and from then on is expected to proceed within the system from grade to grade at a regular pace of achievement. It is generally accepted that the pupil is to spend one year in each grade, that in eight years he shall have progressed through eight grade levels, and by the end of a twelve-year period he shall have completed his elementary and high school training. But this is not always the result. Although the general pattern of achievement and experience may be one of yearly promotion to the next grade, there are pupils who move fast and "skip" grades, and there are pupils who are held back and have to repeat grades.
>
> ... . Retardation is defined as a slowness of progress through school as a result of nonpromotion--a lagging behind from the expected pattern of progress through the school system.[2]

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*By William P. Boss.

[1] Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna, "Mexican-American in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago," Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report, 1967, University of California, Los Angeles, p. 51.

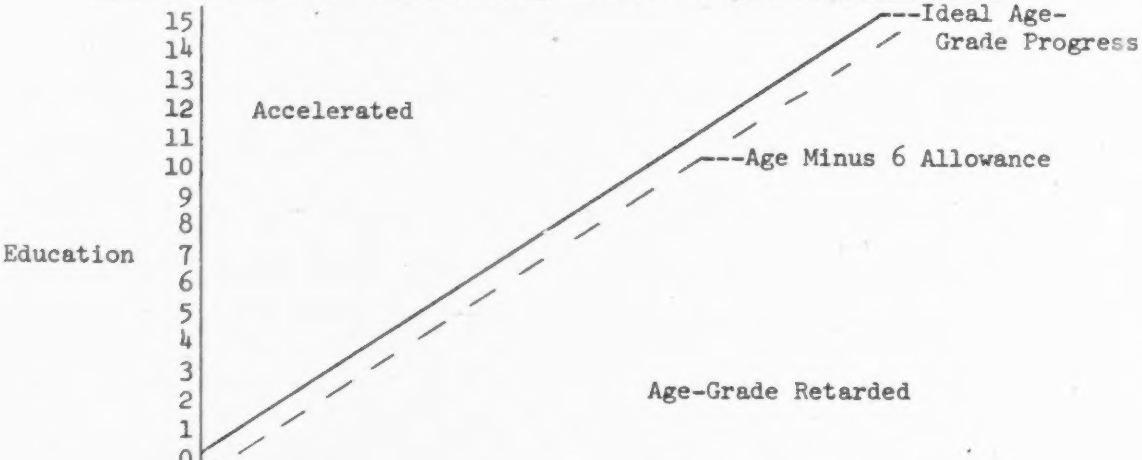
[2] Eleanor H. Bernert, America's Children, New York: Wiley, 1958, p. 148.

Samora's study of Mexican-Americans in East Chicago reports a high rate of age-grade retardation. He suggests that Mexican-American children are older than the modal age for each grade level, and that they, as a group, quickly fall behind their age peers in school.[3] They are said to have difficulty in the system because of language problems, discrimination, and a vast number of other social and cultural problems. Not only is their final educational attainment lower, but at each grade level, they tend to fall further behind.

Normal progress is defined as progression from grade to grade for each year a child progresses in chronological age. If a child enters grade 1 at age 6, he is expected to enter grade 6 at age 11, grade 10, at age 15, etc. If age and year are plotted on a graph, our ideal is represented by a straight line. If a child falls below the line, then he is age-grade retarded; if he is above the line, he is educationally ahead of his age peers, i.e., accelerated. Thus, we may view age-grade retardation as performance which is not in line with the expected age and grade level.

Figure 1-4

Graphic Representation of the Meaning of Age-Grade Retardation



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[3] Samora and Lamanna, op. cit., p. 65.

The question then is what is the expected age and grade level? Bernert's census monograph suggests that, "pupils in specific age groups are not to be found in one grade, but usually spread out over two adjacent grades."[4] Therefore an 8 year old is expected to be enrolled in either the second or third grades; a 9 year old is expected to be in grades 3 and 4, etc. The formula then is age minus 6 years. If that number is greater than his grade level, he is retarded; and if that number is less or equal, then he is not retarded. For example, a 15 year old must be enrolled at least in the 9th grade (age (15) - 6 = 9) to be non-retarded. If, however, he is only enrolled in the 8th grade, then he is retarded.

The measurement of age-grade retardation with these survey data on Mexican-Americans poses some problems. The interview included age and year completed in school for every child in every household; and not year enrolled in school. In order to make year completed equal to year enrolled, the definition must be changed to age minus 7 for our survey data.

Sources of bias in our concept "age-grade retardation". We wish to compare retardation rates of our Mexican-American sample with those of other populations. Are these really comparable? The problem of what date a sample or census is taken arises. Census data are collected on April 1, while the sample data on Mexican-Americans used here were collected over a three-month period from November 1967 through January 1968, thus the census population was given from three to five months more time for its children to have birthdays and become one year older. This extra year of age could in many cases lead to classifying a student retarded. The problem is that our sample of Mexican-Americans was not allowed this three to five months to become older and in some instances to be therefore classified as age-grade retarded. It seems that approximately one-third to one-fourth more of those students in the lowest expected grade would be classified age-grade retarded if the sample had been taken as of April 1. Thus, in an effort to make our survey data more comparable with U.S. census data, 25 percent of those students in the lowest accepted non-retarded grade were classified age-grade retarded. In other words, we are assuming that 25 percent of those students who are just one year above non-retarded status will have a birthday during this three to five month period and thereby become classifiable as retarded.

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[4] Bernert, op. cit., p. 149.

A second source of bias is the comparison of populations at different time periods, i.e., 1960 population compared to a 1967 population. From 1950 to 1960 there was a decline in the rates of age-grade retardation.[5] We probably can assume that the population of 1960 will be less retarded as of late 1967 or that a 1967 population would have been more retarded as of 1960. This form of bias is non-correctable. It also appears that our entire sample has an urban bias and it has been shown that urban retardation rates are lower than that for rural areas.[6]

To sum up, it seems that we are under-representing Mexican-American age-grade retardation rates by some factor. This must be kept in mind when we compare other populations with our Mexican-American sample. However, we have attempted to alleviate the major flaw in our measure and feel that the measurement, although not perfect, is very useful.

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[5] James D. Cowling, Age Grade School Progress of Farm and Non-Farm Youth: 1960, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Economic Report No. 40.

[6] Ibid.

Table 1-11

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE

Age	%	Retardation Adjusted %[7]	Base N
8-10	8	10	(369)
11-13	8	10	(382)
14-16	16	20	(329)
17-19	37	41	(267)
Total N			(1347)

Age-Grade Retardation As a "Risk" Variable. Table 1-11 indicates that age is one of the most important factors in age-grade retardation. At younger ages, we find smaller proportions retarded and as age increases, especially in the teens, retardation rates start to expand at a rapid rate--doubling from group 11-13 to 14-16, and more than doubling from group 14-16 to 17-19. Retardation is clearly a "risk" conditioned variable since each additional year of school presents one more possibility of failure of promotion to the next grade. Therefore our analysis of associated variables will be done separately for each of the low age groups or "risk cohorts." We cannot at this point say if Mexican-Americans have high retardation rates unless we compare these rates to other populations.

Comparison of Michigan total, non-white and sample Mexican-American retardation. Table 1-12 includes all people enrolled in school plus all those not enrolled between the ages of 14-19. The survey data for Mexican-

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[7] Both sets of retardation percents are given because both are significant. For purposes of comparisons we need a more refined measure, thus the adjusted figure. However, in cross-classification analysis we use the non-adjusted figures.

Americans does not ask only about those enrolled, but asks about all people in the household, thus dropouts must be added to those enrolled in order to make the Michigan population comparable to our Mexican-American sample. By including dropouts the rate of retardation is increased from 8.7 percent to 10.3 percent in the 14-16 age group, and from 15.5 percent to 24.5 percent in the 17-19 age group for the Michigan population. For the non-white population, retardation rates go up from 19.4 percent to 20.9 percent in the 14-16 group, and 35.0 percent to 42.2 percent in the 17-19 age group. What this combination of data suggests is that retardation may be one of the prime causes of dropping out.

Table 1-12

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE AND ETHNICITY

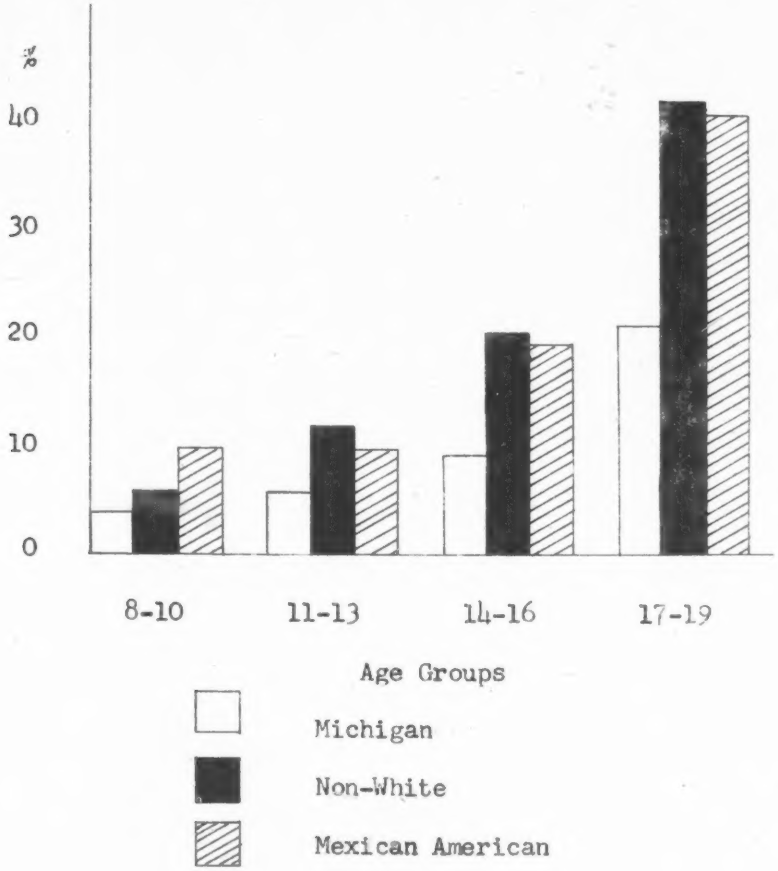
Age	Michigan Population		Non-White Michigan Population		Mexican-Americans	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	4	(484,042)	6	(50,990)	10	(369)
11-13	7	(459,704)	13	(42,676)	10	(382)
14-16	10	(361,488)	21	(32,832)	20	(329)
17-19	24	(320,990)	42	(26,773)	41	(267)
Total N		(1,626,224)		(153,271)		(1,347)

Source: United States Census of Population, 1960, Michigan, Detailed Characteristics. It is a combination of Table 101 - Year of School in Which Enrolled and, Table 102 - Years of School Completed by Persons 14 to 24 Years Old and Not Enrolled in School.

Mexican-Americans are relatively disadvantaged in terms of their age-grade progress--clearly more retarded than the Michigan population and similar in this respect to the non-white population.

Figure 1-5

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE FOR MICHIGAN TOTAL, NON-WHITE AND MEXICAN AMERICAN



(2) Variables associated with age-grade retardation among Mexican-Americans. Age-grade retardation will be the dependent variable in the following analysis. The independent variables will be attributes of the heads of household which may affect school performance. Since age is so strongly related to age-grade retardation, it will be held constant, as a control variable in all our cross tabulations.

The results will be reported according to the grouping of our independent variables into three classes of variables, (1) family characteristics, (2) cultural factors, and (3) migration variables.

Family characteristics. To what extent does a favorable family setting aid a child's ability to "stay up" in school?

(a) Sex. Is age-grade retardation a male phenomena? Bernert states that, "backwardness in age-grade school progress occurs to a considerably greater extent among males than among females."[8] For all children 8 to 18 years old, the sex ratio is 103 males for every 100 females. The sex ratio for retardation is 149 males per 100 females.[9]

Table 1-13

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Sex			
	Male		Female	
	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	11	(187)	4	(189)
11-13	8	(191)	7	(196)
14-16	19	(162)	14	(170)
17-19	38	(138)	34	(131)
Total Base N[10]		(678)		(686)

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[8] Bernert, op. cit., p. 71.

[9] Ibid., p. 71.

[10] The total sample size will vary on account of missing data.

Table 1-13 shows that Mexican-American age-grade retardation is consistent with Bernert's finding regarding the total population. At each age group males are more retarded than females. The sex ratio for our sample is 99 males per 100 females. The retardation sex ratio is 250, 115, 135, and 118 for the respective age groupings; and 133 for the entire sample.

(b) Education of the head of the household. Does the education of parents (in this case, the head of the household) influence the school performance of their offspring? Do better educated heads have children who are less likely to be age-grade retarded?

Table 1-14

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

Age	Educational Level of Head 0 %	 0 Base N	 1-4 %	 1-4 Base N	 5-8 %	 5-8 Base N	 9-11 %	 9-11 Base N	 12+ %	 12+ Base N
8-10	3	(37)	12	(106)	5	(137)	10	(50)	5	(37)
11-13	2	(45)	10	(112)	11	(144)	4	(48)	0	(32)
14-16	25	(52)	24	(102)	12	(125)	7	(29)	0	(21)
17-19	35	(49)	40	(86)	37	(86)	38	(29)	24	(17)
Total Base N		(183)		(406)		(492)		(156)		(107)

In general, the data indicate that better educated heads have children who are less retarded. Those heads with high school education or greater (12+) have significantly less retardation among their children than does any other group. The general relationship appears to be clear and strong. We view education of head as a powerful explanatory factor. However, a close inspection of Table 1-14 indicates that the relationship is not perfectly linear. The children of heads having no education appear to be doing quite well, especially at the younger ages, only 3 percent and 2 percent retarded at the 8-10 and 11-13 age groups. Joseph Kahl[11] suggests that among working-class people there are those who feel they are "getting by" and put little pressure on their children to do well, while there are those who view themselves as partial failures because of a lack of education. "Consequently they encourage their sons to take school seriously and to aim for college."[12] Perhaps those heads with no education may apply more pressure for their children to do well than do the heads with low educational achievements (1-4 or 5-8). Similarly higher-educated heads will apply more pressure to do well. At later ages peer group pressure may be an important factor to investigate.

When mother's education is examined, no significant relationship with age-grade retardation is found. However, those mothers with no education have children with lower retardation rates, especially in the younger age groups. The 8-10 year old group has only 3 percent retardation and the 11-13 group, 4 percent. This finding seems to give added confirmation to our notion that parents with no education are influencing their children, perhaps by negative example, to do well in school. This appears true especially among young children.

(c) Family Income. Is family income related to educational achievement? Do Mexican-American children from higher income families have a lower rate of age-grade retardation? Our data answer both these questions affirmatively. Higher family income is strongly and inversely related to retardation.

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[11] Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Common Man Boys," in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 23, 1953, pp. 186-203.

[12] Ibid., p. 194

Table 1-15

RETARDATION BY AGE AND FAMILY INCOME

Age	Family Income Less than $7000 %	 Base N	 $7000 plus %	 Base N
8-10	12	(165)	4	(200)
11-13	12	(164)	5	(213)
14-16	24	(156)	9	(169)
17-19	45	(132)	30	(127)
Total Base N		(617)		(709)

(d) Interaction of Head's Education and Family Income. Is head of household's education an independent explanatory variable, or is it spurious, i.e. contaminated by the effect of other variables? We controlled for family income, number of years in the migrant stream, and recency of arrival in Michigan. The significance of education remains under these controls and at times increases which leads us to believe we have a cumulative effect operating. As shown in Table 1-16, when education is controlled by income, those low on both variables have a higher percent age-grade retarded while those high on both have significantly lower percents. Thus, while head of household's education has some independent explanatory strength, the addition of income as a second variable with independent strength reveals a cumulative effect.

Table 1-16

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD'S EDUCATION CONTROLLED BY FAMILY INCOME

Age	Income							
	Low (<$7000)				High (>$7000)			
	Head's Education				Head's Education			
	Low (0-8)		High (9+)		Low (0-8)		High (9+)	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	13	(143)	10	(29)	3	(143)	7	(58)
11-13	13	(138)	4	(28)	6	(165)	2	(51)
14-16	26	(142)	7	(15)*	10	(136)	3	(35)
17-19	43	(112)	50	(22)*	32	(105)	14	(22)*
Total Base N		(535)		(94)		(549)		(166)

*In reading the above table, the reader must be aware of cell sizes as well as the percents. When a cell size is below 25 cases, the percents are drastically altered by the change of a few cases. Therefore, it is important to be alert to small cell sizes as having low significance as in the above table.

(e) Occupation and Socio-Economic Index (SEI). What effect does occupational prestige and/or socio-economic status have on a child's ability to "keep up"? Occupation and socio-economic index were used as two measures. Occupation is a very difficult variable to interpret, because the vast majority of Mexican-American heads of household fall into the blue collar categories. Thus, SEI with a range from 1-99 was considered a better indicator, and the retardation rates were more easily interpretable.

Table 1-17

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY SEI

Age	SEI							
	Lower Low (1-10)		Middle Low (11-20)		Upper Low (21-30)		Low Middle to Upper (31+)	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	11	(57)	8	(96)	7	(128)	7	(59)
11-13	9	(45)	8	(111)	9	(139)	4	(57)
14-16	22	(46)	21	(85)	11	(105)	10	(52)
17-19	47	(38)	43	(61)	35	(94)	22	(37)
Total Base N		(186)		(353)		(466)		(205)

Table 1-17 clearly shows that heads having higher SEI's have significantly less age-grade retardation among their children.

When we controlled for family income, head of household's education, recency of arrival in Michigan, and number of years in the migrant stream; SEI's ability to predict retardation remained. The cumulative effect of income and SEI becomes visible. Also, number of years in the migrant stream and recency of arrival in Michigan show this cumulative effect. Therefore, SEI is considered an independent explanatory variable.

(f) Family Size. Do larger families have greater retardation rates? We wished to explore the relationship between family size and retardation in order to give some empirical confirmation to the above question.

Our data do not give us any clear answers. There exists neither a linear relationship between family size and retardation, nor any easily interpretable relationship at all. The only indication from our data is that children from families of 3 and 4 seem to be slightly less retarded than other family size groups (0-2, 5-6, and 7+). We view family size as a weak predictor variable.

(g) Educational Aspirations. Do children whose heads aspire to a college education have less retardation than those children whose heads aspire less than a college education? First of all, it is important to point out that among our heads of households almost 90 percent indicate a desire for their sons to go to college. Mexican-American parents like other Americans, say they desire their children to go a long way in the educational system. This may simply be the expression of a modern society norm -- i.e. universal higher education. Retardation rates of children among college-aspirant heads and non-college aspirants, show little significant differences. Aspirations as measured in this survey appear to be meaningless as a predictor of retardation.

Cultural Factors. To what extent is the retention of Mexican or Mexican-American subcultural traits by the parents detrimental to a child's age-grade progress? Is the desire for assimilation toward the "American Style" helpful in a child's ability to keep up to his age-grade peers?

(a) Language Spoken At Home. If a different language is spoken in the home from that which is used at school, it seems that this might be a detrimental factor in a child's ability to perform in English in school. Thus, English-speaking in the home should yield lower rates of retardation, while Spanish-speaking may handicap a child's ability to progress in the educational system. What about bi-lingualism in the home? Are children of parents who speak both Spanish and English intermediate in rates of age-grade retardation?

In our survey, three questions concerning language spoken at home were asked of the head: 1. What language did you speak with your parents when you were a child? 2. What language do you usually speak with other adult members of your family here at home? 3. And what language do you usually speak with your children here at home? In an attempt to discover what language is spoken in the home at present and how this will affect retardation, we excluded the question concerning language spoken by the head with his parents when he was a child. If we used only the question concerning language used with children, we were afraid that we might be masking some forms of bi-lingual behavior. In some cases subjects might well speak English to their children, but might speak Spanish or a combination of the two to other adults. An analysis of both of these questions will tend to give us more meaningful answers.

Table 1-18

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN AMONG ADULTS

Age	Spanish		Both		English	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	12	(156)	6	(124)	3	(89)
11-13	11	(158)	4	(130)	8	(89)
14-16	24	(142)	10	(125)	11	(62)
17-19	45	(137)	33	(84)	20	(46)
Total Base N		(593)		(463)		(286)

Table 1-19

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH CHILDREN

Age	Spanish %	Spanish Base N	Both %	Both Base N	English %	English Base N
8-10	6	(80)	10	(124)	6	(164)
11-13	9	(67)	7	(151)	9	(164)
14-16	28	(75)	12	(131)	15	(123)
17-19	38	(85)	44	(97)	25	(81)
Total Base N		(307)		(503)		(532)

The data indicate that those heads who speak only Spanish have children who have higher rates of retardation. Also, English or a combination of both languages are superior to only Spanish. Finally, the differences between English and a combination of the two are neither great nor consistent. The first two conclusions are expected, i.e., speaking mostly Spanish by the head leads to higher retardation of his children, while speaking mostly English or a combination leads to lower retardation. The third, however, is intriguing and worth looking at for a moment.

When we view language used with other adults, we see that speaking both is equal to if not better than English for the age 8-16, and only in the 17-19 age group does English show a significant margin over use of both. When we look at language spoken with children, the same pattern emerges. "It is virtually impossible to avoid the conclusion that children should be started off in their formal education in their mother tongue...the evidence is overwhelming that the home-language should be the springboard for the proper development of the second language."[13] Young Mexican-American children raised in a Spanish-speaking home need time before they can read adequately and gain the verbal skills required to use the newly required language.

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[13] George I. Sanchez, "History, Culture and Education," in Julian Samora (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten Americans, University of Notre Dame Press, 1966, pp. 19-20.

When language spoken with other adults was controlled by other relevant variables, it retained its explanatory strength. However, some interesting points emerge. It appears to be very important for the most recent arrivals (1960's) to speak English or their children will be at a great disadvantage. It also seems that head of household's education and language have a cumulative effect, but the cell sizes are small and this conclusion is tentative.

In an attempt to probe deeper in the question of language, we explored whether it was more advantageous for one's children if the head had learned English before coming to Michigan, or after his arrival. Our data indicate that it makes no difference at all where the head learned his English.

(b) Assimilation Preference. We constructed a variable to indicate attitudinal preferences for group homogeneity among our Mexican-American sample. The variable, assimilation preference, is an inverse measure of cosmopolitanism, i.e., those who are low on assimilation preference are high on cosmopolitanism, while those high on assimilation preference are more ethnocentric in orientation. In an attempt to differentiate between a preference for in-group and out-group interaction, respondents were asked to rate their preferences regarding the following ten items.

1) Have mostly Mexican-American friends.
2) Have your children play mainly with other Mexican-American children.
3) Have a Mexican-American as a next door neighbor.
4) Have a majority of Mexican-Americans in your (neighborhood) (farm area).

5) Have a majority of Mexican-American children in your children's schools.

6) Have a church where most of the members are Mexican-American.

7) Have a majority of Mexican-Americans in any organization of which you are a member.

8) Have a separate political organization for Mexican-Americans.

9) Have your children date only Mexican-Americans.

10) Have your children marry only Mexican-Americans.

On each of the items, the response was a preference score from 1 to 7. A score of 7 indicates the strongest preference, while a score of 1 indicates the strongest opposition. The respondents were assigned a score on this variable by an addition of his scores for all the ten items. Thus, the range of scores is from 10 (all 1's) to 70 (all 7's).

The distribution of actual scores indicates there is a high proportion in the middle range (40-49). This seems to be the typical response set. Thus, for analysis we divided assimilation preference into three dimensions: high (a score of 50 or greater), medium (a score of 40-49), and low (a score of less than 40).

Are those who are more favorable to separate Mexican social interaction more likely to experience age-grade retardation among their offsprings?

Table 1-20

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY ASSIMILATION PREFERENCE

Age	Assimilation Preference Low %	 Base N	 Medium %	 Base N	 High %	 Base N
8-10	4	(57)	7	(172)	7	(122)
11-13	5	(61)	8	(173)	9	(133)
14-16	9	(47)	16	(134)	21	(133)
17-19	24	(37)	36	(122)	42	(95)
Total Base N		(202)		(601)		(483)

Our data suggest they are. By reading across Table 1-20, we see that the relationship is linear. Those heads low in preference for Mexican exclusivity have children with retardation rates which are lowest for each age group. Those who are high have the highest retardation rates for each age group, with the medium group in between as expected.

Is this a spurious relationship? When we control for language spoken with other adults, some interesting results emerge.

Table 1-21

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY ASSIMILATION PREFERENCE CONTROLLED FOR LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY HEAD WITH OTHER ADULTS

	Language																	
	Spanish						Both						English					
	Assimilation Preference						Assimilation Preference						Assimilation Preference					
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
Age	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	0	(12)	11	(71)	15	(76)	0	(24)	7	(57)	6	(47)	9	(22)	0	(47)	5	(21)
11-13	7	(15)	15	(68)	9	(76)	6	(17)	4	(74)	2	(48)	3	(29)	3	(34)	19	(26)
14-16	0	(12)	21	(52)	29	(79)	0	(14)	13	(63)	10	(50)	19	(21)	9	(22)	5	(19)
17-19	50	(10)	39	(62)	49	(66)	22	(9)	36	(45)	32	(31)	11	(18)	27	(15)	23	(13)
Total Base N		(49)		(253)		(102)		(64)		(239)		(176)		(90)		(118)		(79)

When Spanish is the language spoken with other adults, we notice that assimilation preference still shows some relationship to age-grade retardation. However, when English becomes the spoken language, in combination or alone, we see that the relationship reverses. If one views the bi-lingual group (probably to best group to view because the cell sizes are larger and more meaningful) it is seen that from the medium to the high assimilation preference groups there is a drop in retardation percents at every age group instead of an increase which existed in the cross-tabulation of assimilation preference by retardation.

When family income is used as a control, we see again the same general pattern. For low family income, assimilation preference seems to hold up, but in the high family income group, the relationship vanishes and seems to reverse itself.

We do not view assimilation preference as an independent explanatory variable. It acts as a conditional or intervening variable, while family income and language are the more powerful explanatory variables.

As a next step we wished to see if composition of the community would have an effect on our dependent variable. Ethnic density, i.e., whether the neighborhood is Mexican-American, Anglo, or Negro, was one variable; and number of Mexican-Americans on the block was another variable. The data indicate that there exists no relationship between these variables and age-grade retardation.

(a) Number of Moves. What happens to children who have parents who move a great deal? Do these children have higher retardation rates or lower? We have three variables to see if movers have more retardation among their children than do non-movers. It is assumed that those children who have parents who are moving a great deal will be readjusting to different school systems and may well be put back for a number of reasons upon reaching a new school system. The three variables we used are: 1) number of moves in lifetime, 2) number of moves in Texas, and 3) number of moves in Michigan. It appears that these variables have no effect on the retardation rates of children. Retardation does not seem to be determined by how much a child's parents move.

(b) Birth Place and Place of Early Residence of Head. Does birth place of the head or where the head lived longest until he was 16 years old affect a child's retardation rates? The distinction seems useful and necessary since among a population which moves a great deal, many times birth place and residence until a certain age may have a very low correlation.

We suspected that the heads having a Michigan birth place or being raised in Michigan would be more advantageous in terms of age-grade progress than would either Texas or Mexico. Whether Texas or Mexico as a birth place, or a place lived longest until 16, was more advantageous was left open.

The data indicate that those heads born in Texas or who lived in Texas until 16 years of age have considerable higher retardation rates among their children than do heads born and/or raised in either Michigan or Mexico. Michigan and Mexico-born and raised heads seem to have similar retardation rates among their children. The only firm conclusion we draw is that for a child's head of household to be born or raised in Texas increases his probability of being age-grade retarded.

(c) Recency of Arrival. Does the time exposed to modern, industrial living experienced in Michigan reduce the retardation rates of children? If people have just arrived in Michigan, will they carry values and beliefs which will be detrimental to their children's school performance?

Table 1-22

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN MICHIGAN OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

Age	Year of Arrival of Head of Household in Michigan					
	1900-1939		1941-1960		1961-1967	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	0	(21)	5	(233)	23	(57)
11-13	4	(26)	7	(263)	15	(47)
14-16	18	(28)	12	(222)	39	(44)
17-19	10	(42)	30	(165)	55	(38)
Total Base N		(117)		(883)		(186)

Table 1-22 indicates that the number of years a head is exposed to the Michigan environment affects the age-grade performance of his offspring. Those with the lowest amount of exposure (1960-1967 group) have clearly the highest retardation rates.

When we control for other relevant factors (family income, head's education, and number of years in the migrant stream) recency remains an important factor. Again, when income and number of years in the migrant stream are combined with recency, we get a cumulative effect. Late arrival and low income result in higher retardation together than either one suggests alone, as does experience in the migrant stream and late arrival.

(d) Number of Years in the Migrant Stream. Approximately 50 percent of our sample of Mexican-American heads of household did not participate in migrant labor activities. Do Mexican-Americans who were part of the migrant stream have greater age-grade retardation among their children than do those who were non-migrant workers? The impression is that children of migrant workers are sporadic attenders of school and would tend to be behind upon settling out. Now that these former migrant workers are more permanent in their residence and employment, how are their children doing in school?

Concerning migrant agricultural families, Paul Blackwood states, "The tradition of going to school is not strong among them, nor is the expectation strong in many communities that these children should go to school."[14] It appears clear that attendance and retardation should be highly related. Those children who have poor attendance records are those most likely to be held back. Any experience which develops a tradition on non-school attendance seems most detrimental to a child's ability to progress through school at the expected rate. The number of years in the migrant stream will be associated with the tradition of non-school attendance. The higher the number of years as a migrant worker, the greater will be this non-school attendance tradition. It should be noted that, regardless of the attendance question, we would hypothesize that the experience of heads in migrant work situations is not conducive to their children's progress in school.

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[14] Paul E. Blackwood, "Migrants in Our Schools," in Bernard N. Meltzer, Harry R. Doby, and Philip M. Smith, Education in Society: Readings, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1958, p. 492.

Table 1-23

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE MIGRANT STREAM

Age	Years in Stream							
	0		1-4		5-9		10+	
	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N	%	Base N
8-10	4	(189)	6	(80)	12	(42)	17	(58)
11-13	5	(196)	9	(91)	8	(39)	16	(56)
14-16	8	(172)	20	(71)	39	(33)	27	(53)
17-19	30	(130)	37	(52)	52	(27)	45	(58)
Total Base N		(687)		(294)		(141)		(225)

The above table indicates that the heads having no migratory experience are clearly advantageous for their children's school progress. It also appears that the longer the head is in the migrant stream, the higher becomes his children's retardation rate, to a point of saturation around ten years. For purposes of clarity, let us view the differences between no migratory labor experience and some.

Table 1-24

PERCENT AGE-GRADE RETARDED BY AGE BY YEARS IN THE MIGRANT STREAM

Age	Years in Stream None %	 Base N	 Some %	 Base N
8-10	4	(189)	11	(180)
11-13	5	(196)	11	(186)
14-16	8	(172)	26	(157)
17-19	30	(130)	43	(137)
Total Base N		(687)		(660)

The differences in retardation rates of children who have heads with no migratory labor experience is most significant. The differences are large at the younger ages and are greater at the older ages. Our data do not allow us to check attendance rates, but it would be of interest to see if attendance rates of children are correlated with head's migrant experiences.

We view experience in the migrant stream as a predictor of retardation. After controls are made, migrant stream experience retains its strength as a predictor variable.

3. Summary.

Mexican-American youth are relatively disadvantaged in terms of age-grade retardation. In this respect, they are quite similar to non-white Michigan residents.

In attempting to explain why some Mexican-American children are more or less retarded, we conclude that there are a number of causes or determinants of retardation and that this phenomena is only explained by a combination of factors.

Family Characteristics. It appears that income, SEI, and head of household's education are important variables. It is true that these three are interrelated, but we believe each is an independent predictor to some degree. Our data show that age-grade retardation is disproportionately a male phenomena as reported in other populations. Mother's education, head of household's educational aspirations, and family size appear to be poor predictors.

Cultural Variables. The number of Mexican-American families on the block, and ethnic density proved of little importance. Language spoken by the head with other adults was a powerful explanatory variable. Assimilation preference appears to be an intervening factor which helps explain retardation when family income is low and the language spoken with other adults is Spanish. We do not find it to have unconditional explanatory strength.

Migration Variables. Number of moves in lifetime, number of moves in Michigan and in Texas were not associated with age-grade retardation. Birth place of head and where one lived before age 16 (where one was socialized) indicated that Texas is the environment most conducive to age-grade retardation. Recency of arrival in Michigan and number of years in Michigan were powerful variables.

From this list of explanatory variables we can suggest two types of Mexican-American children; namely the age-grade retard and the non-retard.

Table 1-25

SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS TYPICAL OF AGE-GRADE RETARDED AND NON-RETARDED CHILDREN

	Retarded Mexican-American Child	Non-Retarded Mexican-American Child
Sex	Male	Female
Age	17-19	8-10
Family Income	Low (<$7000)	High (>$7000)
Socio-Economic Index	Low (1-20)	High (21+)
Language Spoken by Head with Other Adults	Spanish	Bi-lingual or English
Recency of Arrival	Late arrival (1960's)	Early arrival (Before 1940)
Head of Household's Education	1-4 years (not 0	High school graduate
Number of Years in the Migrant Stream	5 or more years	No migrant stream experience

Chapter 2

MIGRATION AND COMMUNITY STABILIZATION

1. Migratory Background.

Most of the Mexican-Americans in Michigan have been highly migratory people, perhaps the most migratory in the American population in the sense that their agricultural work has kept them on the move for extended periods over a series of years. The pattern that we observed in studying the migration and occupation life histories of the respondents was that most spend several years in their lives as migratory farm workers before settling in Michigan. More than half the respondents traveled with their parents in migratory farm work before the age of 16. Fifty-four percent of the respondents said they had done migratory work after age 16. Among those who had ever done migratory work, 50 percent did it for less than five years, and about 30 percent did it for more than 10 years.

Agricultural migrant workers spent roughly seven months of each year away from home, either moving constantly, moving from crop to crop every two or three weeks or making one or two major moves to the same states each year to stay with particular crops for entire seasons.

(1) Childhood Homes.

Many of the families working at migratory farm labor maintained stable residences in Texas over the years. Almost 40 percent of the respondents reported that they had lived with their parents in the same town all through their childhood years, until age 16. Another 20 percent moved only once during these years. This and other evidence gathered in the interviews indicates that the typical migration pattern was to have a "home base" in Texas where the migrants stayed the five winter months and to spend the other seven months of the year on the road, moving from state to state doing farm work.

(2) Kinship Organization.

The work groups of the Mexican-American migratory workers are often integrated with their kinship organization. That is, the group which travels and works together in the work season is usually composed of kinsmen, and the crew leader is often the oldest or most enterprising member of the extended family. This entire kinship group travels together in the warmer seasons and returns to the same town in Texas for the winter. This organization of the extended family as a work group has consequences for the migration and settlement patterns of the Mexican-Americans.

2. Geographical Origins.

(1) Nativity.

Three-fourths of the respondents were born in the United States. The other one-fourth was born in Mexico. A slightly higher proportion of the female heads-of-household were born in Mexico. Most of the respondents' fathers were born in Mexico (64%), and about 40 percent of those fathers never immigrated to the United States. Of those fathers who did immigrate, almost all did so before 1929. Sixty percent of the respondents' mothers were born in Mexico and 40 percent in the United States. More than half (56%) of the respondents reported that all their grandparents were born in Mexico, whereas only 9 percent of them had all four grandparents born in this country.

This means that one-fourth of the heads-of-household of Mexican-American families in Michigan are immigrants. Roughly 41 percent of the heads-of-household are first-generation Americans, sons or daughters of fathers who were born in Mexico. Another 19 percent are second-generation Americans whose grandfathers were born in Mexico, and the remaining 15 percent are third-or-higher-generation Americans whose grandfathers were born in the United States.

(2) United States Origins.

Sixty percent of the respondents were born in Texas, and 11 percent were born in Michigan. No other region of the United States accounts for a larger proportion of the remaining 4 percent who were born in this country. The birthplaces of the spouses of the respondents are distributed somewhat differently than those of the heads-of-household. Smaller proportions of the wives were born in Texas and Mexico, and a higher proportion was born in Michigan.

Table 2-1

BIRTHPLACES OF HEADS-OF-HOUSEHOLD AND THEIR SPOUSES

Birthplace	Heads %	Spouses %
Mexico	25	13
Texas	60	45
Other Southwestern States	2	1
Michigan	11	20
Other areas	2	8
No information	--	14
Total %	100	101
Total N	695	599

This seems to indicate a tendency for some single Texas-born men to come to Michigan and marry Michigan-born girls. This is also related to the rate of intermarriage between Mexican-Americans and non-Mexican-Americans.

(3) Texas origins.

The Texas-to-Michigan migrants come from a very concentrated relatively small section of Texas, chiefly the San Antonio area and the Southeastern counties. "The Valley," an agricultural section at the southernmost tip of Texas, lying along the northern bank of the Rio Grande River, contributes a large number of migrants. Eighty-one (12%) of the respondents spent the longest time before age 16 in the two counties of "the Valley," Hidalgo and Cameron. Some of the larger communities in this region are Brownsville and Harlingen. North of "the Valley" are two counties, Nuesces, which contains Corpus Christi, and Jim Wells county; these counties contributed 27 (4%) of the respondents.

A second region in Texas from which a large number of Mexican-American migrants come is best described as a strip from Austin to San Antonio, comprised of five counties (Bexar, Comal, Hays, Travis and Atascosa). Respondents from this area number 117 or 17 percent of the total sample.

An area adjacent to the southwest of the San Antonio-Austin region is composed of three large counties (LaSalle, Firo and Zavala) and contains such towns as Crystal City and Cotulla, which also "export" Mexican-Americans to the North. Forty-two respondents or 6 percent originated from this area. Just south of the area is Webb county, which contains the city of Laredo; this county is the home town of 27 respondents, 4 percent of the sample.

Economic status. The more rural of these counties are relatively among the poorest in the United States. For example, Zavala county had in 1959 a median family income of $2,314; Hidalgo county, $2,780; and Cameron,

$3,216. The Anglos in these counties received the higher incomes and the Mexican-Americans the lower incomes. The median family incomes for persons of Spanish-surname in these counties in 1960 were: Zavala, $1,732; Hidalgo, $2,027; Cameron, $2,206. We have then a situation of massive poverty constituting a powerful economic push for out-migration. The more urban counties in Texas from which Mexican-Americans are migrating to Michigan have higher income levels. For example, Bexar county, which contains San Antonio, had a median family income of $4,766, but there, also the Mexican-Americans would fall disproportionately toward the lower end of the income distribution, with a median family income for the Spanish-surname population of $3,446 in 1960. In contrast, the counties studied in Michigan to which the migrants moved had a range in median incomes in that same year from $4,583 to $6,526, with most nearer the higher end of the range.

Urban-rural origin. In these as well as the other Texas counties from which the migrants originate, many lived in or on the outskirts of cities, such as San Antonio and Austin as well as in and around small towns with Spanish barrios such as Crystal City, Dilley, Uvalde, Cotulla, Pharr, Weslaco, etc. In their analysis of the Spanish-surname population of Texas based upon the 1960 U.S. Census data, Browning and McLemore make several important points regarding the urbanization of Mexican-Americans worth quoting here:

> In 1960, only 6.5 percent of the Spanish-surname population was reported as living in rural-farm areas, and over 78 percent was classified as urban. Of course, a substantial portion of the urban Spanish-surname population still finds its most regular employment in agricultural work. Moreover, an urban residence does not necessarily imply that these persons have been fully exposed to all of the influences generally associated with urban life. The extent to which urban residence can be associated with the behavior and attitudes commonly ascribed to the urban milieu is, for the Spanish-surname population, an empirical problem warranting investigation.[1]

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[1] Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, Austin: Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas, 1964, pp. 16-18.

Table 2-2

SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN*

	N	%
Less than 1,000	34	6
1,000-2,499	45	9
2,500-9,999	99	19
10,000-24,999	110	21
25,000-49,999	32	6
50,000-99,999	89	17
100,000-249,999	44	8
500,000-999,999	68	13
1,000,000 or more	5	1
Total	526	100
No information	169	

*Community of origin is the place in which the respondent lived longest before his sixteenth birthday.

Indeed, as Table 2-2 indicates, most of the in-migrants to Michigan from Texas grew up in relatively small towns. The median size of place for the communities in which the respondents spent the greatest number of years prior to their sixteenth birthdays is 10,000 to 19,999. About 15 percent spent their childhood years in rural places of populations under 2,500. About 40 percent of the migrants grew up in or near communities of 50,000 or more persons. Thus, the process we are studying is not simply one of rural to urban migration in which people socialized to a rural way of life move into northern urban communities with a consequential need to be re-socialized into urban life. Many of the migrants may have had some childhood experience in urban life. This indicates that the process involved is somewhat more complicated. For those who spent many years in the migrant labor stream, there may be some behavior patterns which are appropriate to that situation which are not appropriate to life in northern cities.

And there may be some elements of the Mexican or Mexican-American culture which are not compatible with the new situation. But the migration is not simply one of people with no urban experience suddenly placed in an urban environment; many of the migrants come with a good deal of previous contact with cities.

Characteristics of men at the time of leaving Texas. About two-thirds of the 626 males in the sample had lived in Texas at some point as adults and their migration was studied intensively as this represents the state of origin with the largest proportion of the Michigan in-migrant Mexican-Americans. Females were excluded from the analysis, leaving 390 males. At the time of leaving Texas, the men lived in communities of the following sizes:

Table 2-3

SIZE OF LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN TEXAS

Population	%
0-2499	11
2500-49,999	45
50,000-499,999	18
500,000 +	26
Total %	100
Total N	390

This indicates that this is not so much a rural-farm-to-urban migration as a migration of people from small towns in Texas to medium-sized cities in Michigan. That represents the most common type of migration (assuming that the distribution of first-cities-in-Michigan is not unlike that of size of present city). There is also a large migration of people from large cities (or city, presumably San Antonio) in Texas to medium-sized cities in Michigan and a migration of people from medium-sized Texas cities to medium-sized Michigan cities. About one-half of the Texas to Michigan migration is small city (small town) to medium-sized city and the other half is medium-sized city to medium-sized city.

Transitions in the migration to Michigan. In moving to the first permanent place in Michigan, many migrants move to a larger community than they resided in previously. Forty percent of the migrants make such a move. Another fourth move to a place in the same size range, and the remaining third move to a community in Michigan which is smaller than the one they leave. Presumably, many of those moving from a larger to a smaller place are those from San Antonio, since all the Michigan cities studied are smaller than that Texas city.

In the second move from the first community in Michigan to the next many stay in the same size range. The majority of those who move into different sized communities move into larger ones, while some move into smaller ones.

Table 2-4

OCCUPATION OF LAST EMPLOYMENT

Occupation	N	%
Professional, technical, and kindred	3	0.8
Farmers (owner operator)	1	0.3
Managers	6	1.5
Clerical and sales	7	1.8
Construction craftsmen	22	5.6
Mechanics, craftsmen	9	2.3
Foremen in factory	1	0.3
Drivers and deliverymen	30	7.7
Operatives and kindred workers	75	19.2
Waiters, etc., & service	14	3.6
Farm, hired hand	26	6.7
Farm, migrant farm laborers	97	24.9
Laborers	50	12.8
Student	16	4.1
Military	15	3.8
Unemployed	16	4.1
No information	2	0.5
Total	390	100.0

The modal type of employment prior to leaving Texas is migratory farm labor and working as hired hands on farms. Thus, this is largely an agriculture-to-industry shift. A second major observation is that there were almost no white collar workers among those leaving Texas (4.4%). Some men come here after leaving school or the army. Some come after a period of unemployment. The balance are blue-collar workers, about 20 percent operatives and 13 percent laborers. Six percent of the men were construction workers.

One peculiar pair of findings is that the migrant farm workers are disproportionately resident in small urban areas at the time of their last period in Texas and the operatives are not disproportionately resident in the largest Texas cities.

By industry, the men are distributed as follows:

Table 2-5

INDUSTRY OF LAST JOB HELD IN TEXAS

	N	%
(categories 5-18 all manufacturing)		
01 - Agriculture	134	34.4
02,03 - Forestry, mining	2	0.5
04 - Construction	40	10.3
05 - Furniture manufacturing	6	1.5
06,07 - Primary metal industries and fabricated metal	8	2.1
09,10 - Electrical machinery, motor vehicles	2	0.5
11 - Transportation equipment	2	0.5
12 - Other durable goods	3	0.8
13 - Food and kindred products	21	5.4
14 - Textile mill products	3	0.8
16 - Printing	1	0.3
18 - Other nondurable goods	5	1.3
(total manufacturing)	(51)	(13.2)
19 - Railroads	13	3.3
20,21 - Trucking and warehousing and other transportation	13	3.4
23 - Utilities and sanitary services	9	2.3
24 - Wholesale trade	4	1.0
25 - Food and dairy products' stores	5	1.3
26 - Eating and drinking places	9	2.3
27 - Other retail trade	8	2.1
29 - Business services	1	0.3
30 - Repair services	23	5.9
31 - Private households	1	0.3
32 - Other personal services	8	2.1
33 - Entertaining and recreation	5	1.3
34 - Hospitals	1	0.3
35 - Educational services (government)	1	0.3
39 - Public administration	7	1.8
40,99 - Not reported, no information	8	2.0
93 - student	16	4.1
95 - military	15	3.8
97 - unemployed	16	4.1
N	390	

The main industries listed are agriculture (34.4%); manufacturing (13.2%, with the main subcategory being food processing, 5.4%); construction (10.3%); and repair services, which includes automobile repair services and garages (5.9%). No other industry accounts for as much as 4%.

There is a higher proportion of men employed in industry in the largest cities. The highest proportion employed in food processing is in the small towns, but there were also some employees in this industry in the largest cities. The agricultural workers were concentrated in the rural places and small towns, although, again, 20 percent of the workers from medium-sized and large cities were in agriculture. Construction workers resided disproportionately in small towns, but the differences between the proportions are probably insignificant due to the small number of cases involved. Men in repair services were also disproportionately represented in the small towns.

The median SEI (socio-economic index) for the men at the time of leaving Texas is about 10, which, of course, is extremely low, the possible range being from 0 to 100.

Age. As in most other migrations, the men in this migration are young men. The median age of the men when they left Texas was approximately 27. This varied relatively little by size of place of origin in Texas. Fourteen percent of the men were under age 20, 27 percent were ages 20 through 24. Another 20 percent were in the 25-29 age group. The remaining men were in their thirties and forties and very few (3%) were over age 50 when they left Texas for Michigan.

Table 2-6

AGE AT TIME OF LEAVING TEXAS

	%
16-19	14
20-24	27
25-29	19
30-34	12
35-39	11
40-44	10
45-49	4
50-54	2
55-59	1
60 and over	--*
Total %	100
Total N	390

*Less than one percent.

Place of birth. Of the 390 who migrated from Texas, 294 or three-fourths were born in the United States. The other one-fourth was born in Mexico. The rural-urban distributions of the U.S. born and the Mexican born at the time of migration are quite similar.

Educational attainment. The median educational attainment of the men who left Texas was fifth grade.[1] The men leaving rural places had a lower median, four years, and those from large cities of over 500,000 had a higher median, six years. One-sixth of the men had never attended school, one-sixth attended high school, and the remaining two-thirds attended elementary school only.

Despite this extremely low level of education, contrast of the attainment of those leaving with the median years of school completed by the 1960

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[1] This is calculated on the assumption that the educational attainment reported at the time of the interview was equal to that at the time of leaving Texas. It was assumed that the amount of formal education after migration was small enough to be negligible in these statistics.

Spanish-surname populations in their counties of origin suggests that those migrating to Michigan were on the average among the better educated. For example, 20 percent of the in-migrants from Texas came from Cameron and Hidalgo counties which in 1960 had 3.9 and 3.3 median school years completed among Mexican-American residents. LaSalle and Zavala counties which furnished 13 percent had medians of 2.3 and 1.4, respectively. The in-migrants from San Antonio, 16 percent of the Texas migrants, having a median level of six years are less advanced over the present Mexican-American population of that city which in 1960 had completed a median of 5.7 years of education. However, since most of those migrating to Michigan completed school a decade or more before 1960, perhaps it would be more useful to compare their education with earlier census data. If this is done, their relatively higher achievement becomes even more apparent. For example, the median years completed by the San Antonio Spanish-surname population in 1950 was only 4.5.

In general, while the median educational level of Texas Mexican-Americans migrating to Michigan is shockingly low, it is relatively high in contrast to that of the population from which they come. Thus, this study can give no support in this respect to the popular belief in some Michigan communities that the Mexican-American migrants settling there are the "lowest of the low," "the dregs of their communities of origin," or "worse off than those they left behind." Quite the contrary, as far as education is concerned, they are probably significantly better off than most of those they left behind.

3. Year of Arrival in Michigan.

Among the total sample of 695 Mexican-American heads-of-household about one out of eight (12%) was either born in Michigan or migrated here with his family before age 16. The remaining nine-tenths (88%) were born elsewhere and migrated and settled in Michigan after age 16. The earliest settlers in the sample came to live in Michigan before 1929; this represents 9 percent of the household heads. There are very few household heads (4%) who came during the decade of the depression. The migration began in its present dimensions in the early 1940's, when there was an abundance of jobs in Michigan factories producing materials for the war. In the decade of the forties about one-third (32%) of our sample arrived. The migration continued steadily in the years after the conclusion of the war in that same decade. The migration increased in the early fifties and declined in the late fifties with the onset of economic recession. According to our sample, the migration has continued during the current decade with roughly similar numbers settling each year.

Table 2-7

YEAR OF SETTLEMENT IN MICHIGAN

Year	N	%
Before 1929	49	9
1930-1939	22	4
1940-1945	91	16
1946-1949	85	15
1950-1954	119	21
1955-1959	68	12
1960-1964	82	15
1965-1967	43	8
Total	559	100
Born in Michigan or came before age 16	136	
Total	695	

Comparing those who have arrived recently with the earlier settlers, we find that the newcomers migrate at younger ages, are more likely to have been born in Texas than in Mexico, and have somewhat more education. Of the Michigan Mexican-Americans, more than half of those born in Mexico came to Michigan before 1950. Very few have come in the 1960's. Very few of the Texas-born people came in the 1930's, but higher proportions are found in each of the following decades.

Looking at the age of the Mexican-Americans, most of the older people arrived in the 1930's and 1940's and very few arrived in the 1960's. The more recently arriving groups are progressively younger.

Table 2-8

YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY PLACE OF BIRTH (MALES ONLY)

Year of Arrival	Mexico %	Texas %
Before 1940	30	2
1940-1949	26	29
1950-1959	28	32
1960-1967	16	37
Total %	100	100
Total N	151	378

Table 2-9

YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY PRESENT AGE

Year of Arrival	Under 30 %	30-39 %	40-49 %	50 and over %
Before 1940	--	1	5	34
1940-1949	16	18	41	38
1950-1959	16	56	35	21
1960-1967	67	25	19	7
Total %	99	100	100	100
Total N	67	145	164	183

The urban areas have higher proportions of persons who arrived earlier, and the rural areas have higher proportions of newcomers. Fifty-eight percent of the people in communities of under 2,500 population have arrived in the 1960's.

Table 2-10

YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY SIZE OF CURRENT COMMUNITY
OF RESIDENCE IN MICHIGAN
(Males Only)

Year of Arrival	Up to 2,499 %	2,500-49,999 %	50,000-99,999 %	100,000-249,999 %
Before 1940	--	4	17	6
1940-1949	18	35	27	23
1950-1959	24	24	21	38
1960-1967	58	37	35	34
Total %	100	100	100	101
Total N	76	79	236	235

4. Maintenance of Ties With Texas Towns.

In many migrations people maintain social ties with persons or groups in the place they have left. More than two-thirds of those who migrated to Michigan still have kinfolk in their communities of origin.

Two ways in which the Mexican-Americans who have settled in Michigan maintain ties with friends and relatives in their communities of origin in Texas are by making visits and by sending money back to relatives. These are traditional ways in which migrants maintain ties with associates in their communities of origin. Sending money back is also a way of helping kinsfolk to migrate to the new community. About three-fourths (73%) of those who have migrated to Michigan have returned to their communities of origin since settling and many have visited more than once. A fourth of those who have returned have gone five or more times. It seems that a common vacation activity for a Mexican-American family in Michigan is for the whole group to get into the car and drive to Texas.

Roughly 20 percent of those who migrated to Michigan said that they had sent money back to their relatives or friends in their community of origin in the past year. However, this point needs further examination within the data, because it may be that it is only the relatively recent migrants who send money, and those who settled in the more distant past have discontinued this practice for a variety of reasons. (Their relatives may have all come up to Michigan, their kinfolk may be deceased, etc.) In addition, more than 10 percent of the respondents report that they owned some real property in Texas at the time of the interview.

5. Some Social-Psychological Aspects of the Move to Michigan.

(1) Reasons for Move.

Employment opportunities. We explored the respondents' reasons for moving from Texas to Michigan or for "dropping out" of the migrant stream and settling in Michigan. The predominantly important reason for the decision was employment. The settlers felt that the job opportunities were poor in Texas or wherever their place of residence was prior to their move to Michigan. They felt that there was no work, that the pay levels were too low or that there was little opportunity to advance on the job. More than 60 percent of the migrants gave job-related reasons for their migration and settlement. This is not surprising, considering the poverty levels of many of the counties of origin in comparison to pay levels and employment opportunities in the counties in which they settled in Michigan at the time they moved. It is also not surprising in the context of other studies of migration in which it has been found in all kinds of migrations that economic reasons are the most frequent in generating migration.

Discrimination. Another common source of migration in other migrations is some kind of political or other repression or discrimination against religious, racial or ethnic groups. In response to this question, the Mexican-Americans did not often say that they left Texas because of discrimination there. Only 13 (2%) respondents said that they left because of discrimination. Discrimination will be discussed at the end of Chapter 3.

Kinfolk proximity. The desire to be near kinfolk was the second most important reason for migration mentioned by the respondents. This was mentioned by more than 10 percent of the migrants. Other reasons mentioned for the move were to find better housing and better schools for their children, but these were mentioned by small numbers of respondents.

(2) Precipitating Event.

Most of the migrants (70%) said that the precipitating event after which they decided to stay in Michigan was finding a job. Another precipitating event through which some migrants resettled in Michigan was marriage or meeting a girl in Michigan whom the respondent later married. Other respondents could think of no particular event after which they decided to move to Michigan or to stay in Michigan.

(3) Information.

Employment opportunities. One important aspect of the migration and settlement process is the information about the new community the migrant has at his disposal and the channels through which he collects it. The migrants told us of the information they had about jobs, housing and discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Michigan. Sixty percent of the migrants said they had some ideas about jobs in Michigan before they came or settled here. They had heard that there were jobs, lots of jobs, good jobs, well-paying ones, ones with benefits, opportunities for advancement, etc. A few migrants said they knew of specific types of job opportunities available, such as farm work and construction and automobile factory work. One in six migrants said that he came to Michigan seeking a particular line of work. Despite the large proportion of the migrants who said they knew something about job opportunities in Michigan, it is surprising that as many as 40 percent of the migrants said they settled in Michigan with no knowledge at all on this subject. It is likely that some of these may have been housewives at the time of migration.

Housing. Only about a third (30%) of the migrants said that they had heard anything about the housing situation in Michigan prior to their settlement here. This is a question of particular importance because in the communities we studied there is an acute shortage of housing for low-income families, and this is one of the most critical problems in the settlement process. In some of these communities, agency officials have reported that families are prevented from settling because of a lack of available housing, even though jobs could be obtained. We were also interested in this question because we wanted to know if the migrants knew that some Mexican-Americans live their first winters in uninsulated farm dwellings if they stay to do farm-related work after the migrant work season is completed.

Of the 30 percent who said they knew something about housing, a few (13%) said they had heard some negative things, such as the difficulty of finding adequate housing. Others had heard that they would have housing provided for them by the grower for whom they would work. The rest (45%) had heard something favorable about the housing situation in Michigan. They said they had heard that there were many houses available, and that it was easy to buy a house.

Treatment of Mexican-Americans. Even fewer than those who had heard anything about housing were those who said they had heard anything about the "treatment of Mexican-Americans" in Michigan. Of those who had heard anything, most (90%) said that they had heard that the treatment in Michigan was good, better than in their place of origin and that in Michigan Mexican-Americans were treated as equals. The rest said that they had heard that in Michigan Mexican-Americans were not treated well.

Informational channels. The informational channels through which the migrants received these ideas were almost exclusively direct and interpersonal. Migrants said that they had received information from friends and relatives in roughly equal proportions on each of these topics. A few said they had learned about conditions in Michigan through direct observation in the years in which they had come to this state to work on the farms and orchards. The mass media played no part in the collection of information about Michigan for these settlers.

6. Chain Migration.

The migration of Mexican-Americans from Texas to Michigan appears to be a clear case of chain migration. Chain migration is the process in which one member of a kinship group moves to a new place and later helps others to join him. A series is established in which migrating family members help others to move. Roughly 80 percent of the migrants came with kinfolk, and some came with kinfolk and friends. The majority came with spouse and children. A smaller proportion came with their parents. Others came with brothers, in-laws and other relatives. Only about 20 percent of the migrants came alone.

The chain is continued as kinfolk come after the respondent and his family move. After the migrants settled in Michigan one-third (33%) of them had other relatives come to join them. Most often it was the migrant's spouse and/or children who followed, or the migrant's parents.

Many of the migrants were preceded in the migration by relatives or by friends. One-third of the migrants had relatives already in the first city in which they settled in Michigan. More than a fourth had friends who had preceded them to that city. We would expect that such people would facilitate the migrant's adjustment to life in that community, by providing material help, information, advice and social support.

7. First Housing.

During the first year in Michigan about 30 percent of the settlers lived on farms. The others said they lived in urban places. About half the settlers stayed in their first residence for the whole year, while the rest made one or more moves. About one-fourth of the settlers made three or more moves during that first year. For those who moved often, the chain migration process is again in evidence. Almost half the settlers shared their first housing with others, most likely with kinfolk or friends. About one-fourth of the settlers were aided in finding their first housing by relatives and another fourth were helped by friends. A slightly smaller proportion received their first housing as part of their job; they lived in a house on the grower's or processor's property. This was quite common in the forties in the sugar beet industry and is still practiced in some agricultural areas in Michigan. Fourteen percent said they found their first residence by "looking around," by seeing a sign or in some happenstance manner. About 6 percent said they found their first house or apartment by looking at classified ads in a newspaper. Very few said they were aided by realtors, employers, churches or other agencies. Here again, we see the importance of kinship and friendship networks in the adjustment aspect of the migration process.

Incidentally, about one-third of the migrants said their first housing in Michigan was inferior to their housing in Texas. Another third said it was about equal in quality, and the remaining third said their first housing in Michigan was superior to what they had in Texas.

8. Stabilization.

(1) Moves Within Michigan.

At the outset of this study we thought that most Mexican-Americans made a series of inter-city moves before finding a satisfactory location for settlement. The survey data indicate that this process takes place only for a minority of those who stay, and even those who do move between Michigan cities, do it only once or twice. The process of settlement appears to be one in which the farm worker works in one or more agricultural areas in the state, then moves to a city to work, and stays. The migrant who moves directly from Texas, not as a farm worker, also is likely to stay in the first city he chooses.

Table 2-11 illustrates this process. Almost 60% of the Mexican-Americans never moved after establishing their first location in Michigan (other than migrant farm work). Most of those who ever changed cities did so only once and only 15 percent have changed communities more than once in Michigan.

Table 2-11

INTER-COMMUNITY MOVES IN MICHIGAN

Number of Moves	All Respondents %	Males %	Females %
0	58	57	72
1	26	27	19
2	11	11	9
3	3	3	--
4 or more	2	2	--
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	695	626	69

(2) Characteristics Associated with Rates of Inter-city Migration.

The variables most closely related to inter-city migration in Michigan are age and sex. Older residents are more likely to move and to have moved more than once than younger ones. A much greater proportion of males than females have moved. The greater migration of older people may be simply a function of longer exposure to the possibility of moving over the years with more opportunities to learn of employment possibilities in other cities. Age is related to year of arrival in Michigan, and those who arrived earliest have moved more often than those who arrived more recently. The low rate of inter-community moves by female heads of households may be related to their low incomes, dependence upon public agencies for help, and to the presence of children in their households.

Table 2-12

NUMBER OF MOVES IN MICHIGAN BY AGE

Number of Moves In Michigan	20-29 %	30-39 %	Age 40-49 %	50-59 %	60-69 %
0	69	59	55	47	59
1	18	24	28	36	30
2+	13	17	17	17	11
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	130	199	175	99	74

Experience in migratory farm work and level of educational attainment are related to this type of migration. Persons who were formerly migrant farm workers are much more likely to have made inter-city moves in Michigan than those who were not. Length of time in the migrant stream does not make a difference, but having been a migrant does.

Uneducated persons are more likely to have made inter-city moves than persons with some education. Those who are most likely to have made such moves are persons with no formal education, followed by those with only the primary years completed. Those who completed six or more years of schooling are less likely to have made inter-city moves in the state.

There appears to be no relationship between the rates of residential mobility and occupational categories; nor does there appear to be a relationship between inter-city migration and socio-economic status. The size of community of current residence is not related to the number of inter-city moves

(3) Experience in the Migrant Stream.

Those who had formerly been migrant workers have somewhat lower residential stability than those who were never migrants. There is a slight indication that those who had more years in the migrant stream had lower community stability than others.

People who were born in Mexico have considerably higher residential stability than those born in Texas, probably because those born in Mexico settled in Michigan earlier than many of those born in Texas.

(4) Size of Present Community.

People living in rural communities with populations under 2,000 have the lowest proportion of long-term residents. These are workers who are in farm work or in food processing occupations near where they have worked in the fields. This type of residence and occupation is usually of short duration and such people move to the cities. One-third of the Mexican-Americans in these small places have been in them for more than two years, but less than 10 percent have been in them more than ten years.

Small towns of 2,000 to 19,999 population and larger towns of 20,000 to 99,999 have the highest proportions of long-term stable residents and the smallest proportions of newcomers. Both kinds of communities have more than 40 percent of Mexican-Americans who have been there more than ten years and about a third who have been there less than two years. Medium-sized cities, which are the largest communities we studied have somewhat smaller proportions of long-term residents and more people who have been there from two to nine years. This may be because they have received the largest numbers of newcomers in recent years.

The general picture that comes from this analysis of residential stability is that Michigan Mexican-Americans are not in the communities as temporary transients.

(5) Years of Continuous Residence.

A large proportion of Mexican-Americans have become stable residents of the communities in which they have settled. This is indicated in the years of continuous residence in the city in which the individual currently lives.

Table 2-13

YEARS OF CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE BY SEX

Years	Total %	Males %	Females %
0-1.9	38	40	21
2.0-3.9	9	9	3
4.0-5.9	8	8	12
6.0-7.9	5	5	3
8.0-9.9	4	4	7
10 or more	37	35	54
Total %	101	101	100
Total N	695	626	69

The median number of years of continuous residence is about five. More than one-third of the respondents have lived continuously in the same community for ten or more years. More than half the female heads of households have lived in the same communities more than ten years.

There are also many among the Mexican-Americans who are newcomers to their cities and this is indicated by the 38 percent who have lived in their present communities for less than two years.

(6) Variables Associated With Stability.

Year of arrival. Those who arrived in Michigan in the 1930's and 1940's and found their first jobs during those decades have the highest stability. Almost sixty percent of the people who started then have resided in their present cities for ten years or more. Some of those who arrived in the state that long ago have moved recently, though, and about 30 percent have lived in their current city less than two years.

Residential stability seems to be established quickly, as a fourth of those who found their first jobs in 1960-1964 already had 2.0 to 3.9 years of continuous residence by the time of the survey and another sixth who started working in 1960-1964 had 4.0-5.9 years of continuous residence.

Age. Older persons, particularly those over 60, have the highest residential stability. The population segment between ages 30 and 59 has a large proportion, about 40 percent, of highly stable long-term residents, but also has an even larger proportion of persons who are relatively new to their cities.

Table 2-14

YEARS OF CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE BY AGE

Years of Continuous Residence in Same Community	Age 20-29 %	 30-39 %	 40-49 %	 50-59 %	 60-69 %	 70+ %
0-1.9	33	36	46	44	28	
2.0-3.9	19	8	3	5	7	
4.0-5.9	18	8	5	4	4	
6.0-7.9	10	4	2	4	5	
8.0-9.9	7	4	3	5	3	
10 or more	13	41	41	37	53	
Total %	100	101	100	99	100	
Total N	130	199	175	99	74	

Education. There is no systematic relationship between level of educational attainment and community stability.

Occupation and SEI. People in the higher occupational levels have greater community stability. The highest levels of stability are for persons with professional, technical, and managerial occupations. Similar levels are indicated for persons in service occupations, and for retired persons. The residential stability of clerical and sales workers is quite high. All blue collar workers except service workers have lower levels of community stability than white collar workers. Among blue-collar workers, construction workers and craftsmen and foremen have the highest stability. Factory operatives have a lower level of stability and laborers have the lowest level, with the exception of the few farm laborers.

Although the relationship is not simply linear, it appears that the higher the socio-economic index, the higher the probability of high community stability.

9. Moving Away from the First Town in Michigan.

Many of the migrants have never moved away from the first town in which they settled in Michigan. Others have made one or more moves within the state. Most of those who left the first community in Michigan explained that they did so in order to seek a better job in another town or because they had already found a better job in another town. Others kept the same job, but moved from a small town at some distance from the workplace to the city in which the factory was located. This is a fairly common pattern and may be related to the lack of housing in the cities or to the attachment to the first place because of previous agricultural work experience there.

Some settlers moved from the first town to be closer to relatives in the second town. This indicates again the importance of kinship relations within this population.

In moving to the second city, the chain migration process is less important, but still operative. One-fourth of those who moved had relatives in the new town, and one-third had friends in the new town, probably reflecting the growing circle of acquaintances the migrant has made in Michigan.

10. Commitment to the Move.

In various migrations, people who move had different commitments to the move. This means that in some migrations, people move with the idea that they will stay in the new place for a limited period, sometimes until they earn and save a given sum of money, and then they will return home. In other migrations, people move with the feeling that they are glad to be leaving the community of origin and they plan never to return. In this migration of Mexican-Americans to Michigan we find that the commitment to stay in Michigan seems to be quite high, despite that fact that the respondent maintains rather active ties with his kinfolk in Texas.

Almost all the respondents said that they feel that their current community in Michigan is their "home town." Only about 10 percent of the migrants said that they still feel that a place in Texas is their "home town."

Another indication of the intent to stay in Michigan comes from responses to a question about whether the respondent intends to move from his present residence in the near future. Of the total sample, less than two percent said that they plan to leave Michigan.

Chapter 3

FINDING JOBS*

The migration of Mexican-Americans to the cities of the Midwest is a rather recent phenomenon, although large numbers of these persons have been found in the state for several decades. Persons of Mexican descent have annually traveled north from their permanent homes in the Southwest to harvest the agricultural cash crops of the Midwest, joined until a few years ago by bracero laborers from Mexico. But only within the past three or four decades have large numbers of these persons been staying in Michigan and in other Midwestern states after the end of the agricultural work seasons. Seeking year-round employment, in the great majority of cases, has meant finding non-agricultural employment in urban areas.

The overall social process through which these settlers are passing in Michigan may best be viewed as the process of urbanization. Migratory agricultural work had been the central focus of their previous way of life. This they must leave as they become integrated into the northern industrial city. This process has instrumental aspects, acculturative aspects, and an aspect concerned with the establishment of social relations within the city. The instrumental arrangements, concerned with sustaining life from day to day, are the most urgent for the new immigrant, and it is one of these, finding a job, which will be the major concern of this chapter.

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*Written in collaboration with Jerry Judy.

1. Economic Absorption.

One of the earliest and most pressing problems which any new immigrant must face is that of becoming absorbed into the economic system of the host community. Until an adequate adjustment in the urban labor force is made, few immigrants can be expected to have resources for anything but a highly unstable marginal existence. Beyond this consideration of survival, economic absorption is of special interest because reasonable security of employment is "essential foundation for the long process of cultural integration."[1] In the process of adjustment of the immigrants to their new social system, they must extend their participation beyond the primary group.[2] The form of this participation in the economic sphere will be highly influential in the ability to learn and participate in new roles, transform primary group values, and extend their participation beyond the primary group and into the main spheres of the social system--all processes involved in making adjustments with, and becoming absorbed in, a new social system.[3]

The major purpose of this chapter is to explore the factors associated with the way the Mexican-American migrant goes about finding employment in Midwest communities. Since this population has done little in the way of creating new economic activities or occupations, Mexican-Americans are almost always absorbed economically by finding jobs in already existing organizations. The emphasis here, then, will be on the integration of these persons in which the necessary first step is finding a job. Only afterwards can absorption into other areas become meaningful.

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[1] Wilfred D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. (Paris: UNESCO, 1959).

[2] This is assuming that they do not form an isolated economic system which is essentially self-supporting within itself. This is an unusual occurrence among most migrants and is certainly not the situation among the Mexican-American migrants to the Michigan communities used in this study.

[3] Samuel N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954).

2. Finding the First Job in Michigan.

An immigrant's ability to find work in a new locality will depend greatly upon the amount of information he can acquire concerning the jobs which are available for a person with his personal characteristics, and, about the appropriate processes he must go through to secure this work. The immigrant may arrive in the new community with information about job opportunities ranging from having no knowledge about how his livelihood will be obtained to having detailed information about a particular position which he is certain to assume. If the immigrant has no employment information before his arrival, it can be expected that having friends and relatives in the new community may, at least in some cases, such as when they have influence or similar skills, influence the types of job search patterns which will be followed by the new arrival.

The term 'chain migration' refers to "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."[4] This influence among the Mexican-Americans in Michigan can be seen by observing the differences in the way jobs were obtained by those persons who were part of a migration chain and those who arrived without a reception base.

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[4] John S. and Leatrice D. MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation, and Social Networks," The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, (January 1964), p. 82.

(1) The Reception Base and Information About Jobs.

Do those immigrants who have friends and/or relatives living in the new community actually have more information about jobs than those without such a reception base? Table 3-1 shows the percentages of those with this information and the types of reception base in the first community in which they settled in Michigan.

Table 3-1

INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS BEFORE MOVING BY
RECEPTION BASE IN THE FIRST MICHIGAN COMMUNITY

Information About Jobs[5]	Type of Reception Base No One %	Relatives Only %	Friends Only %	Relatives and Friends %
No	48	35	35	25
Yes	52	65	65	75
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	171	155	73	58

While those with no relatives or friends in the communities into which they first settled were about equally likely to have had previous information about jobs, those with a reception base of friends, relatives or both were much more likely to have had such information. Having either relatives or friends seems to have had a similar effect, in each case reducing those without information to about one-third. When both friends and relatives were present, the number with no information dropped further to only one-fourth.

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[5] 'Having information' includes persons with any type of information, regardless of the quality. For many of these persons the information they reported went little beyond having heard that there were jobs in the state, lots of jobs, good jobs, well-paying ones, etc. Nothing may have been known about specific employers or working conditions, yet we are considering this as having some information.

While the immigrant having a more extensive reception base is more likely to have information about jobs, there remains a surprisingly large percentage (25%) who move to Michigan who have no knowledge about this subject even with both friends and relatives present in the town of settlement. Also, half of those persons with no reception base nevertheless have some knowledge about jobs. Having this base does therefore give immigrants more information. But, there are obviously other means, such as direct observation while working as a migrant, of getting this knowledge before permanent settlement.

The possibility of getting information about jobs in Michigan from friends or relatives who are in the state but not living in the community where the immigrant first settles is explored in Table 3-2. Here it can be seen only 4 percent did have such information. Slightly fewer of those with the same type of reception base had no information about jobs. The number of cases is so very small that it is very unlikely that any significant number of immigrants get information about jobs from any friends or relatives, other than those living in the community of first settlement.

Table 3-2

LOCATION OF FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN MICHIGAN
BEFORE SETTLEMENT BY INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS

Type of Reception Base--Location of Friends and Relatives	Information About Jobs No (%)	Information About Jobs Yes (%)	Total (%)
No one	43	28	34
No one in town, but elsewhere	4	4	4
In town only	33	40	37
In town and elsewhere	20	28	25
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	163	260	423

What is of greater interest in Table 3-2 is the information which this table gives about the places where new immigrants settle in the state and the influence this must have on job search patterns. Of this total population of males, one-third settled in Michigan localities before any of their friends or relatives lived there. But of the two-thirds who followed these persons, only 4 percent settled in a community where friends or relatives were not already living.

This means that almost none of the Mexican-Americans who arrive after those persons they know have already settled in the state are going to new areas. Consequently new job markets are not being explored by Mexican-Americans who are just moving to the state. It is unlikely that these friends and relatives who have such an important influence upon places of settlement, have little or no influence upon patterns of adjustment to the new community. Since finding a job is one of the first and most important adjustments which the new immigrant must make, it could be expected that the persons forming the reception base will be highly influential in directing the new arrival to particular types of jobs and employers in the community. It is obvious how chain migration can thus lead to chain occupational allocation. The influence of a reception base upon the methods of getting jobs will be explored further in the next section.

(2) The Reception Base and Methods of Getting Work.

We will now look at the influence of this reception base upon the actual process of getting a job. This is summarized in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3

METHOD OF OBTAINING FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN BY THE PRESENCE OF FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN THE FIRST COMMUNITY OF SETTLEMENT

Method of Obtaining First Job in Michigan	Reception Base			
	No One %	Relatives Only %	Friends Only %	Friends & Relatives %
Went to company (no referral)	45	37	34	32
Went around looking	8	6	7	6
Friend told about/took	20	17	30	28
Relatives told about/took	2	28	6	26
Other person	12	3	4	4
Ad in paper or on radio	5	3	2	0
Social agency referral	1	0	2	1
Employment office	7	5	15	3
Total %	100	99	100	100
Total N	167	147	53	69

Regardless of the type of reception base entered, Mexican-American migrants into Michigan communities obtained their first job in the state most often by going directly to the company and applying for work. While this method accounts for 45 percent of the first jobs when there was no reception base, this number declines rapidly and represents the means of obtaining the first job in only 37 percent of the cases when only relatives were in the community prior to the immigrants arrival. This number declines to 34 percent when friends only were present and even further to 32 percent when there were both friends and relatives in the community before the immigrant arrived. Having friends and relatives for a reception base does not, however, prevent direct company application from being the most important means of getting a job, but it does provide assistance in enough other ways to make reliance upon this one method much less heavy.

As might be expected, having relatives already in the community to welcome the immigrant, provides him with a very important method of obtaining his first job. While it cannot be shown with the existing data, many immigrants probably made their move to Michigan after hearing from relatives about employment opportunities. When this type of reception base was not present in the community, relatives were almost never used as a means of getting the first job--only 2 percent of the time. Similarly when only friends were present, relatives were used in only about 6 percent of the cases. However, when family members were present, their assistance was successful in getting the first job in over 26 percent of the cases.

While this indicates that the presence of relatives is fairly influential in helping the new arrival obtain employment, since they are used about 25 percent of the time when they are present, the full extent of this assistance is more difficult to document. It has often been shown that blue-collar workers have very little information concerning the specific types of job opportunities which are available, even within fairly limited job markets. This would suggest that the relatives who are assisting the new arrival will probably assist him in obtaining a job which is similar to the ones which they themselves possess. As in other studies, this assistance may sometimes involve use of influence, but most often these persons are used just because they are persons who are known to have information.[6] But this knowledge which relatives have could increase the likelihood that better jobs will be overlooked because of the greater ease of obtaining one which is suggested by a relative. Thus we probably have an example of chain migration leading to chain occupational placement whereby prior immigrants direct their later fellows to particular niches in the employment structure on the basis of their own experience.[7]

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[6] Charles A. Myers and George P. Shultz, The Dynamics of a Labor Market, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1951).

Friends have a more pervasive influence upon the manner in which new arrivals obtain their jobs than do relatives. As was noted above, the presence of relatives in the particular community in which the immigrant settled was essential for them to be particularly effective in helping find jobs. Such is not the case with friends; they can be highly effective even in their absence from the particular community. While relatives were of assistance to only 2 percent of those immigrants who settled in communities in which there was no reception base, friends were effective in assisting immigrants moving into a similar situation in 20 percent of the cases. When both relatives and friends were simultaneously present to form a reception base, each of these groups was about equally effective with relatives assisting 26 percent and friends in 28 percent of the cases. The major difference then is in the much greater ability of friends to assist when they are not immediately present.

There are several reasons which can be suggested to account for this greater ability of friends to assist the new arrival in finding jobs. First, the network of friends may be much more extensive than that of relatives. The number of persons one may consider a friend is likely to be much larger than that group of persons who are relatives. Second, within any family only a limited number of age groups are likely to be represented. However, those considered to be friends may constitute a more diverse group having a variety of ages, and may for this reason have more diverse experience in the labor market. Friends are more likely because of their larger numbers, greater range of experience, and widespread geographical distribution to be found in those types of occupations in which a person will be interested than will be the case with relatives. They will thus form a more widespread network from which information about job opportunities may be secured. If information is more crucial than influence in obtaining work, passing along information may not involve a sufficient burden upon the persons giving the information so that it would be given to only a select few. It is more likely that this commodity is passed along to many who request it. This would probably not be the case with requests which demanded a much greater commitment on the part of the giver, for example, the use of influence.

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[7] John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 90.

When friends and relatives are not present to form a reception base for the new immigrant, it is not surprising that we find assistance by formal agencies, and procedures requiring personal initiative, are used more often to find the first job. Persons who are not considered to be friends are used more extensively in this type of situation. The greatest reliance upon advertisements in the newspapers or on radio is made when close acquaintances are not present. A somewhat greater percentage of jobs are also obtained by the somewhat random process of looking about with no references to guide the search.

The state employment service is used in different ways, depending upon the reception base. Not surprisingly least use (3%) is made of this channel of employment when both friends and relatives are in town upon arrival. When only kin are present, the percentage rises slightly to 5 percent and increases further to 7 percent of the cases when there is no reception base. The largest percentage (15%) use this method when only friends form the reception base. It is possible that friends do not take as much personal interest in helping the immigrant get a job as when relatives are assisting, but, that these friends do know about directing the new job seeker to this possible source of jobs. Where there is no reception base, this method may be more easily overlooked. Also, those who came when there was no reception base did so at a time when the employment service was not as active as it is at the present time.

(3) Information About Jobs.

Most of the new arrivals in Michigan have some information about jobs in the state before they arrive. The influence of having friends and relatives in the state as a reception base was explored in Tables 3-1 and 3-2. We will now turn our attention to the question of how much influence having job information has upon the means by which the first job was obtained. This information is contained in Table 3-4.

Having information about jobs before arrival does not have a great influence upon the means by which the first job is obtained. However, there are a few differences which are worthy of notice. First, relatives are used much more often by those who do have information. One in five (20%) with information used this means to get work while only 8 percent without prior information did so. Since we have seen previously that having information is closely associated with having relatives as a reception base, this finding is not particularly surprising.

Table 3-4

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN BY INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS BEFORE ARRIVAL

Method of Obtaining First Job in Michigan	Job Information No %	Job Information Yes %
Went to company (no referral)	42	36
Went around looking	9	6
Friends told about/took	25	19
Relative told about/took	8	20
Other person	8	6
Ad in paper or on radio	2	4
Social agency referral	1	1
Employment office	5	8
Total %	100	100
Total N	170	270

At the same time those persons with no information about jobs relied somewhat more often upon friends to assist them in getting work than those with information. It is probable that the information about jobs which is obtained from friends before moving to the community is not as likely to be about specific jobs as it is when relatives supply the information. Information from friends living in the community may be concerned more often with facts about general working conditions, such as the fact that there are many jobs available. Therefore the new arrival who had this type of information before his arrival may be in no better position to move into a job immediately than the person who is completely ignorant before arrival. Their reliance upon friends is similar therefore, with the person who is completely ignorant depending upon friends somewhat more often.

Second, those with some information depend somewhat less often upon direct company application and looking about to find their work. In addition to the assistance from relatives, they more often depend upon such formal methods as the employment service and ads to get work.

(4) Search for a Specific Job in Michigan.

Some indication of the extent of the knowledge which the immigrants had about the job situation in Michigan before their arrival is revealed by the extent to which specific jobs were sought after arrival in the state. From a total of 459 cases, only 86 or 19 percent responded that they looked for a specific type of job when they came to Michigan.

The most important difference between those who looked for a specific job and those who did not is the extent to which friends and relatives were instrumental in assisting them attain their first job in the state. The fact that these persons were used less often by those with sufficient prior knowledge to specify the type of job which they were seeking in the state would indicate that the information which the immigrant receives about jobs from friends and relatives may often not be very specific. As has been suggested before, information from relatives, and especially friends, may be more in terms of the general availability of jobs. If indeed the friends and relatives had supplied the immigrants with specific information about a particular job, it would be expected that a referral by these friends and relatives would have been used more, rather than less often.

Table 3-5

METHOD OF OBTAINING FIRST JOB BY
SEARCH FOR A SPECIFIC TYPE OF JOB

Method of Obtaining First Job in Michigan	Look for a Specific Type of Job No %	Yes %
Went to company (no referral)	38	42
Went around looking	6	14
Friends told about/took	23	15
Relatives told about/took	17	7
Other person	6	10
Ad in paper or on radio	3	2
Social agency referral	1	1
Employment office	6	9
Total %	100	100
Total N	360	81

Instead of relying upon persons who are close to him the immigrant looking for a specific job is more likely to depend upon his own personal initiative. These persons are more than twice as likely to locate their job by looking about without the aid of references. They are also more likely to contact persons who are not considered to be friends or relatives.

It is interesting to look at the relation between having information before arriving in Michigan and the search for a specific type of job. This information is given in Table 3-6.

Surprisingly there is no association between having information about the types of jobs which are available and a search for a specific type of job. Those persons who look for a specific type of job after they migrate to Michigan have very little more information about types of jobs in the state before they arrive than those persons who come with no specific employment objective.

Table 3-6

INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS BY SEARCH FOR A SPECIFIC JOB

Search for a Specific Job	Information about Jobs No %	 Yes %
No	39	34
Yes	61	66
Total %	100	100
Total N	373	86

This finding gives further support to the notion that those persons who do have information before their arrival may seldom have detailed knowledge which leads them directly to an employer or to a particular job. Also, those persons who search for specific types of jobs appear to be persons with certain skills which they try to sell, regardless of the amount of previous information which they have about the market for these skills.

(5) Help Needed.

The migrant entering a new community learns, as he searches for a job, not only about the employment opportunities available but also about his own capacities and needs in finding a job. An increasing awareness of these may result in his looking for his next job in a different way. Since manpower recruitment programs need to be focused upon the needs of job hunters, each migrant was asked to think back to his search for his first job in Michigan and attempt to recall what would have been most helpful in enabling him to obtain that job more easily. The free responses were coded into the categories listed in Table 3.7. The final column of this table shows the percent of respondents mentioning each kind of need as his most important one.

While more than one-third (38%) responded that nothing was needed in obtaining the first job after migration to Michigan, the remainder listed in order the need for references, better English ability, a car for going around to look or to make applications, more education, more information on job opportunities and more skill or experience, or other needs such as a place to live or citizenship. Since a job was obtained, presumably the need was overcome. Nevertheless, the job hunting experience was such as to make the worker more conscious of his deficiency.

Table 3-7

HELP NEEDED BY METHOD OF OBTAINING THE FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN

Help Needed to Facilitate Getting the First Job	Went to Company %	Went Looking %	Friends Told About %	Relatives Told About %	Other Person %	Employment Office %	Total Needing Each Type of Help %
No help needed	39	32	33	37	46	37	38
More education	14	14	4	5	8	7	9
Car	8	21	16	8	8	4	10
More skills or experience	4	4	2	6	4	18	5
Better English	11	7	17	11	15	7	12
Recommendation or reference	13	18	14	18	15	18	14
More information on job opportunities	7	4	7	10	4	4	7
Other	4	0	7	5	0	4	4
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	99	99
Total N	155	28	86	62	26	27	402

What the job hunter learns and his awareness of certain needs will probably be related to the methods that he uses in seeking a job. If he is taken by a relative to that person's place of employment where his relative serves as a translator and reference, he may feel little need for any of those things listed in Table 3-7. On the other hand, if he is capable of going directly to the company or employment office or just looking around by himself, he may have little need for the kind of help mentioned by others. It is interesting, therefore, to examine the kind of needs mentioned by workers obtaining their first jobs in different ways. It is important to remember, however, that workers were asked only how the job itself was obtained, not what other means, if any, were used in the entire job search leading finally to employment. Many workers who finally obtained their first job in one way may have unsuccessfully used other methods earlier in the job search, learning of their needs from these.

The methods of obtaining the first job were excluded from Table 3-7 because the numbers were insufficient to permit percenting. Three others which are listed are under 50 in total number of respondents using the method and therefore these percent distributions should be interpreted with extreme caution since they are subject to great sampling error. As suspected, going directly to the company or looking around appears to be associated with an awareness of educational deficiency to a greater degree than obtaining the job by means of friends, relatives or other persons. The problem of obtaining a car seems most salient for those who went looking around for their first job, while those who obtained theirs through an employment office seem least to have needed a car. The employment office, however, is three times as likely as any other method to produce an awareness of the need for a greater level of skill or experience. It is somewhat surprising that those who went looking around felt less need for better English than any others, but perhaps those most aware of the need for better English seldom went looking around to begin with. Those who learned of jobs through friends, relatives and other persons may have discovered their English deficiency in applying at the personnel office of the employer. Those sophisticated enough to make use of the employment office, like those who looked around, may have better English to start with. The felt need for recommendations or letters of reference seems to vary little with the means by which the job was obtained. Interestingly enough, those who are aided by friends, relatives or other persons feel somewhat more need for such references than those going directly to companies without referral. The need for references is felt by one of five persons who use the employment office. While friends and relatives tell migrants about jobs, those assisted by them seem more aware of the need for more information on job opportunities than those obtaining their jobs by other means. Perhaps as suggested earlier, the information provided by friends and relatives may be restricted to their places of employment while that obtained from other persons, employment offices and by looking around is more inclusive. While friends and relatives may have real value in facilitating the employment of the migrant upon arrival, they may narrow his job search to the few opportunities known to them.

3. Comparison of the Methods of Finding the First and Present Jobs.

(1) Relative Consistency in Finding the First and Present Jobs.

We shall now turn our attention from the manner in which Mexican-Americans received their first jobs after migration to the way these persons have gone about securing their present jobs or last jobs held before retirement or unemployment.

Table 3-8 indicates the order in which different methods were used to get both the first job after migration to Michigan and the present job. With two minor exceptions, the order of importance of the different methods remains the same. This stability of order supports the findings of others.[8] They also found that while the proportion of persons who use a particular method may change between first and present jobs, the different ways of finding jobs retain the same order of importance.

Table 3-8

THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF THE DIFFERENT METHODS OF GETTING THE FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN AND THE PRESENT JOB

Order	First Job Method	%	Present Job Method	%
First	Went to company	37	Went to company	49
Second	Friend told about	21	Friend told about	17
Third	Relative told about	15	Relative told about	8
Fourth	Employment office	7	Employment office	9
Sixth	Other person	7	Went around looking	6
Seventh	Advertisements	3	Advertisements	3
Eighth	Social agency referral	1	Social agency referral	1
Total N		338		338

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[8] Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson, Workers and Industrial Change, Cornell University, 1957.

While the order has remained essentially the same, the extent to which different methods are used has not remained as consistent. The most important difference in the percentages of persons using each method is that more persons found their last job by going directly to the company without indicating that they did so with any referral. Consequently, the number of persons who relied upon the assistance of friends and relatives was lower for the present job. Of these two methods, the use of relatives lost most in degree of importance. There was very little difference in the extent to which the other five methods were used.

Other studies found this general trend in labor markets where the first job was being sought not by immigrants but by young workers who were seeking work for the first time. Two studies[9] found that friends and relatives are more important in obtaining the first job since the young worker has not yet had the opportunities either to learn about various channels of employment or to become identified, through experience or training, with particular skills. For the immigrant worker it is quite likely that both of these reasons would also apply, even if they represent an older and more experienced group.. They would in most cases lack information about the various channels in the new community and many would have few skills which would put them in high demand in most urban-industrial areas.

While Table 3-8 indicates how often the different methods are used, it gives no information about how persistent each respondent is in using a method which has proved to be successful on at least one previous occasion. This information is contained in Table 3-9.

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[9] Charles A. Myers and George P. Shultz, op. cit., p. 52; and Charles A. Myers and W. Rupert MacLaurin, The Movement of Factory Workers, (New York: John Wiley, 1943).

Table 3-9

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT OR LAST-HELD JOB IN MICHIGAN BY METHOD OF OBTAINING THE FIRST JOB

Method of Obtaining Present or Last-Held Job	Went to Company %	Went Looking Around %	Friends Told About %	Relatives Told About %	Other Person %	Employment Office %
Went to company	70	48	24	37	54	36
Went looking around	5	22	3	6	0	8
Friends told about/Took	9	15	42	14	17	8
Relatives told about/Took	5	4	15	16	0	8
Other person	2	4	10	12	13	4
Ad in paper, radio	2	4	0	4	0	0
Special agency referral	2	0	0	0	0	0
Employment office	4	4	7	12	17	36
Total %	99	101	101	101	101	100
Total N	124	27	72	51	24	25

As in Table 3-7, two methods of finding the first job have been omitted because of the small number of users. Likewise, three other methods have dangerously low numbers from the viewpoint of sampling error. The underlined numbers and percents on the diagonal represent the persons who used the same method for their first and present jobs.

While, for the total sample, 44 percent continued to use the first successful means of getting a job for the present job, the persons who went directly to the company were by far the most likely to be in this category. Seventy percent of those who went to the company for the first job also found their present one in this manner. Those who used friends and the employment service had about 42 percent obtaining their present jobs in the same way. Except for these three methods, however, fewer than one person of five (15%) of those using the remaining methods repeated in using the same one for the present job.

As has been previously noted, persons other than friends and relatives were used as a means of obtaining the first job most often when there was no reception base in the community. Therefore it is not surprising that many of the migrants who used this method when they first arrived in the community would use other methods after they had established contacts and had learned about other channels for getting work. It can be suggested that this method was used mainly because of the absence of other viable alternatives. When other contacts have been made in the community, this method can be abandoned in favor of assistance from friends and going directly to the company, the methods most commonly used by those who abandoned "other persons" as a means of getting work.

Of all those persons who abandoned their first means of getting work, by far the largest number went directly to the company for their present work. This method is the only one which increased in importance from the first to the present job, undoubtedly because of the success that this population has had in using it to obtain work. Also as these persons gain skills they can sell them directly to the company through direct application for jobs. Young workers are especially likely to take jobs which friends or relatives tell them about. Experience and training in a particular type of work will more often lead experienced workers directly to a company.

(2) Occupation and Job Finding.

In addition to a general examination of the extent and types of change in finding jobs between the first job after settlement in Michigan and the present or last-held job, it is interesting to consider as well the patterns of change by occupation and industry. First let us consider questions regarding occupation and job search. Do different methods of obtaining jobs lead to different occupational statuses? Does this tendency, if any, change between the first job and the present one? Do workers in different occupational statuses find their jobs by different methods? Do these methods change between the first and present jobs? Our data do not permit definitive answers to questions put in such causal form since we have only data regarding the association of occupation and industry with particular methods of job finding at two particular times in the workers' careers. We cannot determine conclusively whether particular methods lead to different job statuses or whether workers in certain occupations or industries favor certain methods. We can, however, gain some insight into these questions by viewing our tabulations comparing methods of job finding with occupation and industry in two different ways, namely, first by treating the method of obtaining the job as the independent variable and second by treating occupation or industry as the independent variable. Thus from the same frequency table, percenting by each variable successively, we can gain some tentative insights into the possible causal connections.

Table 3-10

FIRST AND PRESENT OCCUPATION BY METHOD OF OBTAINING JOB

Occupation	Method of Obtaining Job											
	Went to Company		Went Looking		Friends Told/Took		Relatives Told/Took		Other Person		Employment Office	
	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %
Professional, Technical	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	9	3	13	0	0
Clerical, Sales	1	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	2
Craftsmen, Foremen	7	15	13	17	6	16	4	9	3	17	3	17
Drivers, Operatives	61	67	55	74	49	64	53	70	43	37	53	57
Service	6	5	3	4	5	9	2	4	7	13	7	2
Farm Laborers	13	1	3	0	15	0	12	0	17	10	7	0
Non-Farm Laborers	11	4	23	4	25	7	29	7	27	7	30	21
Total %	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	99
Total N	171	246	31	23	94	70	68	54	35	30	30	42

From an examination of Table 3-10, our answer to the question of whether different ways of finding jobs lead to different occupational statuses must be negative in general. Regardless of method used, almost half of all workers considered here have obtained jobs as operatives (including drivers). This trend becomes even stronger for most workers in shifts from their first jobs in Michigan to the present or last ones. There is among those going directly to the company and to the employment service only about a 10 percent increase in the proportion obtaining jobs as operatives. But among those using the other three methods except "other persons" which declines, there is a 25 to 35 percent increase in the proportion finding present jobs as operatives in contrast to their first jobs in Michigan. Thus whether the job is the first or present one, the plurality (in most instances, half or over) of workers obtaining their jobs by each of the six methods finds jobs as operatives.

At least twice the percent of workers using any other method compared to going directly to the company ended with first jobs as non-farm laborers. While this is roughly the case with respect to the present job, the percent of workers in this occupational category has dropped substantially. Those using personal contacts, whether friends, relatives, or other persons, were likely to obtain first jobs as laborers (farm or non-farm) in between 40 to 50 percent of the cases. However, this probability decreased to about 7 percent (friends and relatives) and 17 percent (other persons) for the present job. Although first jobs as operatives and laborers were obtained by about 90 to 95 percent of those using personal contacts, operative and craft jobs accounted for 80 percent (friends and relatives) and 50 percent (other persons) of the present jobs obtained in this manner.

It is worth noting here that nearly three-fourths of those who went looking for their present job obtained one as an operative although the low number of cases (23) suggest caution in accepting this as a reliable estimate. Again, despite the low numbers, it is interesting to observe that use of the state employment service did not lead to occupational placement greatly different from other methods. In so far as it did, it found lower-level occupations in present jobs more often than any other method except the use of other persons. It is perhaps significant that the employment service offices placed at least three times as many applicants in present non-farm laboring jobs as any other method including other persons. By the way, the use of other persons leads 10 times more often than any other methods to current placement in farm labor, although in absolute numbers, an equal number of workers obtained farm laboring jobs by directly contacting the employer. It is significant that none of the other methods led to any placements in current farm labor jobs. We must emphasize here that "first job in Michigan" refers to the first job after permanent settlement and excludes all jobs as migratory farm laborers in Michigan which are frequently obtained through the Texas Employment Service and through other persons such as crew leaders. Many of the first jobs as farm laborers shown as obtained through the various means in Table 3-10 were year-round continuations of jobs held as migrants immediately before resettlement in Michigan.

In addition to its disproportionate placement of farm laborers, the use of other persons also was the means most likely to lead to a present service occupation, although the use of friends and going directly to the employer produced many more such placements in absolute numbers of workers.

Turning to our second set of questions regarding the association of job finding patterns and major occupational statuses of Mexican-American workers in Michigan, we may ask: To what extent do persons in different occupational statuses find their jobs in different ways? Does this vary depending upon whether this is the first job after migration or the present or last-held job? Table 3-11 treats the occupation of the worker as the independent variable comparing across occupations the percentage of workers using each method. In two occupations, professional and farm laborer, no comparison of the first and present jobs can be made because of the low numbers in these.

Among the four occupations which may be compared, the changes in methods from the first to present jobs are in the same direction with the exception of service occupations. Craftsmen, operatives and laborers tend to obtain their present jobs more often by going directly to the company and less often by looking around or using personal intermediaries for information or contacts. The proportions of changes are remarkably uniform. Non-farm laborers, however, show a tripling of the percent gaining their jobs through local state employment offices. Indeed as great a percent of laborers (29%) used this means as went directly to the company.

The job finding pattern for service workers deviates somewhat from the others although the numbers involved are so small that sampling error may be responsible. Nevertheless, these data show a continued reliance upon friends and a slightly increased use of relatives and other persons in present as compared to first job finding. There is a corresponding decrease in obtaining the present job at the company in contrast to substantial increases in this method in all other occupations. It is noteworthy as well that service along with professional and technical workers seem to make more use of advertisements in newspapers or on the radio than others.

Table 3-11

METHODS OF OBTAINING THE FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONS

Method of Obtaining Job	Professional Technical*	Craftsmen Foremen		Drivers Operatives		Service		Farm Laborers*	Non-Farm Laborers	
	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	1st %	Pres. %
Went to Company	50	43	50	44	53	40	38	41	22	29
Went Looking	0	14	6	7	5	4	3	2	8	3
Friends Told/Took	4	21	15	19	15	20	21	26	26	16
Relatives Told/Took	19	11	7	15	12	4	7	15	23	13
Other Person	15	4	7	5	4	8	14	9	9	7
Ad in Paper or Radio	8	4	4	2	2	16	10	2	2	3
Social Agency Referral	4	0	1	1	1	0	3	2	0	0
Employment Office	0	4	10	7	8	8	3	4	10	29
Total %	100	101	100	100	100	100	99	101	100	100
Total N	26	28	72	239	308	25	29	54	88	31

*Insufficient number of cases to permit percent comparison of first with present jobs.

Finally, with regard to present job finding patterns by occupation, it appears to be the case that the higher the occupational level, the greater the percent of jobs obtained by going directly to the company or looking around and less by personal contact, although the percent of professional and technical jobs obtained by contact with relatives (19%) is higher than that of any other occupation.

The occupational diversity of our sample of Mexican-American male household heads is not great since one category, operatives, accounted for 54 percent of the first occupations and 63 percent of the present or last-held occupations. Statistically reliable comparisons were hindered by the low number of persons in other categories. Nevertheless, a relatively high degree of consistency seems to prevail in the manner in which occupations and job finding patterns are related by first and present jobs with changes occurring primarily in the direction of more independent search by going directly to the company or looking around and less reliance upon personal contact. Let us turn now to the relationship between the methods of job finding and the industry in which the worker obtains his first or present job.

(3) Industry and Job Finding.

Do different ways of finding jobs tend to be associated with different industries in which these jobs are found? Is the same pattern of association, if any, maintained between first and present jobs? Again we may ask the causal question in two ways and attempt to gain some insight into the relationship by looking first at the method of job finding as the independent variable (Table 3-12) and then at industry as the independent variable (Table 3-13).

Table 3-12

FIRST AND PRESENT INDUSTRY BY METHOD OF OBTAINING JOB

Industry	Method of Obtaining Job											
	Went to Company		Went Looking		Friends Told/Took		Relatives Told/Took		Other Person		Employment Office	
	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %
Agriculture	15	2	10	0	19	0	16	0	23	10	10	0
Construction	7	4	19	9	12	7	26	7	13	7	20	26
Metals	23	24	29	35	21	26	20	28	10	13	10	24
Durables	4	6	6	9	7	19	7	4	0	3	10	5
Non-Durables	11	7	6	4	13	16	15	7	23	10	13	0
Motor Vehicles	29	43	7	35	14	16	12	39	17	17	20	33
Transportation and Utilities	3	1	0	4	2	1	0	4	10	0	0	7
Sales	2	4	13	4	5	6	2	7	0	7	10	2
Service	4	5	10	0	4	4	0	2	3	20	7	2
Educational Professional Services	1	3	0	0	2	4	2	2	0	13	0	0
Total %	99	99	100	100	99	99	100	100	99	100	100	99
Total N	171	246	31	23	94	70	68	54	30	30	30	42

Does finding a job in a particular manner lead to jobs in a particular industry? We might expect that going directly to the company or looking around would tend to result in more placements in large, highly visible industries in a community than in smaller manufacturers, sales, and service enterprises. These might be comparatively favored by more personalized job finding, especially those hiring Mexican-Americans early. Likewise, the employment office should place persons in a more diversified manner. Table 3-12 presents some evidence for this conclusion. In obtaining their first jobs in Michigan, workers do, indeed, seem to be drawn disproportionately to the highly visible motor vehicle plants (29%) and foundries and drop forges (23%) when obtaining a job directly from the employer. They are even more likely to end up working in a foundry (29%) when looking around for a job, but they are less likely to obtain a job at an automotive plant (7%). Use of friends, relatives and other persons results in a much more diversified distribution of placements on the first job. While friends and relatives seem to lead new workers to metals work about one time of five, they are more likely to aid them in finding first jobs in agriculture, construction, or even non-durable manufacturing than in motor vehicles. Use of other persons leads equally to jobs in agriculture and non-durables in 47 percent of the cases. While employment services place clients in a more diversified manner than migrants tend to place themselves by going to the company or looking, there is some evidence of concentration in motor vehicles (20%) and construction (20%). It is interesting to note that one of four migrants receiving aid in obtaining a job from relatives found his first job in the construction industry. One of five did so by going looking and by using the employment office. Migrants using means other than relatives or an employment service were likely to have obtained a construction job in only about one case in 10.

Fifty percent of present or last jobs were found by going directly to the company in contrast to 39 percent of the first jobs found in this manner. Reliance upon personal contacts dropped from 44 to 32 percent. Two-thirds of those finding their present job at the company worked in motor vehicle plants (43%) or metal fabrication (24%).

Comparing the patterns of industrial placement in first and present jobs by the methods of job finding, it is clear that the use of relatives leads to far less diversity of placement in present than in first jobs with more than a tripling of jobs in the motor vehicle industry and a substantial decrease in those in construction. However, the use of friends and other persons continues to result in the most varied industrial distribution of present jobs of any of the methods. Other persons appear to be the only channel that leads to a significant proportion (20%) of jobs in service industries. Friends and other persons both place less than half as many job hunters in the motor vehicle industry as any other method. The percent of workers finding jobs in construction decreases in every method except the employment service.

In general, then, we find we come again to a negative conclusion regarding the question of whether particular methods of job finding lead to significantly distinctive distributions of jobs, except in so far as two methods, friends and other persons, produce more diversity of industrial placement in both first and present jobs. Considerable change can be observed in the industrial distributions of first and present jobs but not so much as a result of the redistribution or reversal of the industries by rank order of importance within each method but rather because of a uniform trend toward greatly increased proportions in motor vehicle and metal industries regardless of method.

Let us see what further insights into the association of the methods of job finding and industry can be gained by reversing the dependency of the variables and considering now whether industries have relatively unique patterns of recruitment and, further, whether these may be different for those migrants obtaining their first jobs in the Michigan labor force and those who have worked in Michigan communities in at least one other job since migrating here or being born or raised here. Table 3-13 displays the ways in which Mexican-American workers found their jobs in six major industrial classes. Too few are presently employed in agriculture to permit a comparison with those thus employed in their first jobs.

With the exception of construction jobs, the largest percentage of first jobs in each industry was obtained by going directly to the employer. This trend increased between first and present jobs to the extent that at the lowest 29 percent (in construction) and at most 63 percent (in motor vehicles) received their present jobs in this independent manner. It is not surprising that motor vehicles, the most visible industry in Michigan communities sampled, should rank highest in the percent of workers recruited directly nor that metal work, known to be a traditional employer of Mexican-American migrants, should rank second. Obtaining a first job by just looking around is important only in sales and services. In every case except motor vehicles, use of this means diminishes between first and present jobs.

Table 3-13

METHODS OF OBTAINING THE FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY MAJOR INDUSTRIES

Method of Obtaining Job	Industry Agricul-ture*										
	Agricul-ture*	Construc-tion		Metals		Manufac-turing*		Motor Vehicles		Sales, Services*	
	1st %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %	1st %	Pres. %
Went to Company	36	21	29	44	50	32	42	58	63	28	42
Went Looking Around	4	11	6	10	7	5	4	2	5	18	1
Friends Told/Took	26	19	15	22	15	24	33	15	7	23	14
Relatives Told/Took	16	32	12	15	13	19	8	9	13	3	9
Other Person	10	7	6	3	3	9	6	6	3	3	17
Ad in Paper or Radio	2	0	0	2	1	1	4	3	2	13	10
Social Agency	2	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
Employment Office	4	11	32	3	8	9	3	7	8	13	3
Total %	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	100
Total N	69	57	34	92	118	80	72	87	167	39	71

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*Insufficient number having present jobs in Agriculture to permit percent comparisons. Durable and Non-Durable Manufacturing and Sales and Services have been combined for purposes of comparison in this table.

It is not surprising that recruitment into first jobs in the construction industry is overwhelmingly (58%) by personalized means (friends, relatives, or others) with the least use of direct application compared to other industries. What is particularly significant, despite the low number of cases, is the important role played by state employment offices in placing workers into present jobs in construction. Most of the decline in the use of friends, relatives and other persons between first and present jobs seems to be taken up by the employment offices. While there is a significant increase in the percent of workers going directly to the construction companies or sites (29%), the employment service recruits as high a percent (32%) of present construction workers as the combined personalized means (33%).

Sales and services are the only categories having any significant proportion of their workers recruited by means of advertisements. These industries also make use of other persons more than twice as frequently than any other in present recruitment.

In general then, consideration of how major industries recruit Mexican-American workers suggests that while going to the company and looking around are the means by which one to two-thirds of the workers come into present jobs in any industry (the more visible in the community, the higher the proportion), personalized means and employment offices are significant sources for obtaining jobs in construction, metal fabrication, and manufacturing. The change between first and present jobs is in the direction of more direct application. Half of the workers considered obtained their present jobs in this manner.

4. Finding the Present Job: Situational Variables.

In this section, we will investigate the relationship of three situational variables with the ways of finding the present job, namely, the type of shift made into the present job, the ethnic composition of the work force at the place of work, and the size of the employing unit.

(1) The Type of Job Shift and Finding the New Job.

One might suspect that the manner of seeking and finding a new job might be influenced by the kind of change of employment that is being made. Is the worker merely changing employers but maintaining the same occupational status in the same community? Or is he changing both his employer and occupation in that community? Or is he moving to a new community and changing his employer or both this employer and occupation? Table 3-14 presents the methods of obtaining the new job by the type of shift undergone in changing into the present or last-held job, ordered from left to right in increasing degree of complexity. No unique pattern of job finding is characteristic of any type of shift. One can discern no uniform change in the percent using different methods as one moves from the relatively simple employer shift to that involving a change of employer, occupation and residence. Despite the lack of dramatic differences, several more subtle ones are worthy of attention. The shift of employer is the only type that involves substantial use of advertisements and employment offices. One of every five workers changing employers in the same community makes use of these methods of finding his new job whereas one in 10 or fewer do so in other types of employment shift. The use of personalized methods, especially friends and relatives, is least in changes of both employer and occupation in the same community (27%) and greatest when simultaneous adjustment is required to

Table 3-14

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT OR LAST-HELD JOB BY TYPE OF JOB SHIFT

Method of Obtaining Job	Type of Job Shift Employer Only %	Employer Occupation %	Employer Residence %	Employer Occupation Residence %
Went to Company	43	56	49	47
Went Looking Around	3	5	11	2
Friends Told/Took	14	10	20	22
Relatives Told/Took	13	10	11	12
Other Person	6	7	0	8
Ad in Paper or Radio	5	3	3	1
Social Agency	1	1	0	1
Employment Office	15	8	6	6
Total %	100	100	100	99
Total N	112	238	35	140

change of employer, occupation and residence (42%). Going directly to the company or just looking around are used three times out of five by workers changing employers, whether residential change is involved or not, but only about half the time when an occupational change is involved as well. Friends are a more important source of new jobs involving a concurrent residential change than they are when the change is taking place in the same community. Relatives, however, are equally a source of jobs regardless of the type of shift, in every type accounting for about one new job in every 10.

(2) Ethnic Composition of Work Unit.

There may be a tendency for any ethnic population to become concentrated in certain occupations or industries not only because of discrimination or the temporal coincidence of migration and development of new industry in the community but also as a result of the methods used by members of a particular ethnic group in finding jobs. We will investigate the degree of Mexican-American concentration by occupation and industry in a subsequent chapter.

Here it will suffice to point out that only 12 respondents of the 597 providing the requested information or 2 percent reported that they worked entirely with other Mexican-Americans. This is strong evidence that economic absorption of this population takes place through its integration into pre-existing businesses and industries within the community, rather than through the development of businesses serving Mexican-Americans exclusively. Nevertheless, only one in every five Mexican-American workers is presently or was last employed, if currently unemployed or retired, by an employer having no other Mexican-American workers on the job.

Table 3-15 provides evidence that there is some but not a strong association between the methods of finding present jobs and the presence of other Mexican-Americans in the same work unit whether it be the company, shop, office or construction crew. One would expect that the less personalized the method of obtaining the job, the greater would be the likelihood of finding a job at which no other Mexican-Americans are employed. This is substantiated by Table 3-15 in which it will be observed that the methods of finding jobs ordered by increasing percent of jobs having no other Mexican-Americans is the following: -relatives, looking, friends, going to the company, other persons, employment service. Relatives lead to exclusively Anglo jobs in only about one job in 10 whereas, at the other end of a scale of intimacy of relationship, the employment office places the applicant three times as often in a job having no other Mexican-American employees.

Table 3-15

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WORK UNIT
BY METHOD OF OBTAINING PRESENT JOB

Other Mexican-Americans on Job	Method of Obtaining Job					
	Went to Company	Went Looking	Friends Told/Took	Relatives Told/Took	Other Person	Employment Office
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Some	82	86	82	88	76	71
None	18	14	18	12	24	29
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	299	29	90	68	37	52

(3) Job Finding and the Size of Employing Organizations

As suggested in the preceding sections, the relative visibility of potential employers may be expected to be related to the probability of finding a job by certain methods. For example, we have shown in Table 3-12 the tendency for those workers who found their jobs by going to the company or looking around to be heavily concentrated in motor vehicle or metal fabricating plants which are the largest and best known employers in many of the communities sampled. Visibility may also be relative to the ethnic group being considered if there is traditional ethnic concentration or specialization in certain industries such as foundry and forge work in Michigan in the Mexican-American case.

Table 3-16 supports the hypothesis that the larger the company and therefore the more visible in the community, the greater the proportion of its Mexican-American work force recruited by direct, independent means. While organizations of all sizes obtain at least almost one-third of their employees by hiring those applying directly to the company without intermediary sources of information or help, the percent rises with size, especially above 250 employee firms, to the level at which companies employing 5,000 or more workers obtain more than two-thirds of their Mexican-American workers by this means. This finding confirms the reports of others who have found that the larger the organization, the more likely it will be able to fill its employment needs from those persons who apply for work. These are the places employed persons most often apply first for work.[10] In addition it is reported that most organizations use formal channels outside the organization only if informal channels, such as direct

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[10] Lloyd G. Reynolds and Joseph Shister, Job Horizons, (New York: Harper, 1949), p. 40.

Table 3-16

METHOD OF OBTAINING PRESENT JOB BY SIZE OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

Method of Obtaining Job	1-10 %	11-50 %	51-100 %	101-250 %	251-500 %	501-1000 %	1001-5000 %	Over 5,000 %
Went to Company	35	28	36	40	51	56	57	69
Went Around Looking	4	8	2	9	5	4	4	5
Friends Told/Took	13	24	26	23	10	15	12	9
Relatives Told/Took	13	13	8	14	12	7	11	12
Other Person	21	13	2	0	7	4	3	2
Ad in Paper or Radio	10	3	8	2	2	0	2	1
Social Agency	2	3	0	5	0	0	1	0
Employment Office	2	9	18	7	12	15	10	2
Total %	100	101	100	100	99	101	100	100
Total N	52	78	39	43	41	27	173	100

applications to the factory do not produce a sufficient number of employees.[11] Thus such methods as ads, the employment service, or friends are seldom used in the larger organizations since a sufficient number of employees can often be found among those who come to the company seeking work.

As has just been suggested, the value of friends as a means of getting work does indeed decrease as the size of the organization increases. With the exception of the very smallest organization in which fewer than ten persons are employed, there is a general lessening of the influence of friends as the size gets larger. The percentage of persons getting their job in this manner drops from about 25 percent in the 11-50 employee size range to only 9 percent in the very largest places. This would indicate that close personal contacts are not necessary to locate jobs in these places. And even if information about work does come from friends, they cannot be of as much assistance in the larger organizations as in the smaller where personal recommendations are likely to be of greater importance.

Although they were not specifically studied in this project, other factors have been noted elsewhere which should be inserted as a note of caution in interpreting the decreasing influence of friends. While going to the company is given as the way the job is found, this may be misleading. The way has often been prepared by friends, both within the company and outside. If a friend is an employee in the plant, his recommendation may insure success for the applicant who applies through the regular employment channels. Also tips from friends may influence the order in which plants are visited.[12] But despite these factors, it still appears that the influence of friends is substantially reduced as the size of the organization increases to the point where there are several thousand employees.

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[11] Richard C. Wilcock and Irvin Sobel, Small City Job Markets (University of Illinois, 1958), p. 62.

Unlike the influence of friends, that of relatives remains fairly constant at between 7 to 14 percent regardless of the size of organization. Why their influence should remain constant while that of friends diminishes with size is unknown. However, other ways of finding a job were in predictable directions. Ads decreased in importance as the size increased because in many ways the larger company is its own advertisement through its increased visibility and influence. Also assistance from persons other than friends and relatives was much more important for the smaller organizations. The Mexican-Americans probably followed up on tips from a variety of persons to obtain work in places which might otherwise be easily overlooked because of their insignificant size.

5. Finding the Present Job: Personal Background Variables.

The personal attributes and the experience of job seekers may be importantly related to the methods by which they find new jobs. In this section, we will investigate the influence of English ability, educational level, age, time in Michigan, job training, and finally the role of ethnic stereotyping as it may elicit discriminatory behavior by prospective employers.

(1) English Language Ability

The ability of a person to speak the language of the community in which he is located can be assumed to have an important influence upon his ability to function effectively in that environment. In respect to finding jobs, it can be anticipated that those migrating to Michigan from places like those in South Texas in which their daily language is mainly Spanish may have particular problems in finding jobs not only because of the language requirements for employment but also because of limitations in their job search. Those who lack ability to use English either in speaking or reading and writing or both will, of necessity, require the help of bilingual persons, usually friends or relatives, in the new community in order to obtain jobs. We have a number of measures of language ability and use, three of which we consider below in relation to the methods of finding first or present jobs.

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[12] Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, The Job Hunt (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

When English was learned and finding the first job in Michigan. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they learned to speak English before or after settlement in Michigan. These data plus the small number of cases where the individual has not learned the language, even after migration, is shown in Table 3-17 as a further indication of the importance of knowing English.

Table 3-17

TIME WHEN ENGLISH WAS LEARNED BY METHOD OF OBTAINING THE FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN

Method of Obtaining First Job in Michigan	Time When English Was Learned Before Arrival in Michigan %	After Arrival in Michigan %	Don't Speak English %
Went to Company	38	39	47
Went Around Looking	9	5	0
Friends Told/Took	20	21	35
Relatives Told/Took	15	17	6
Other Person	6	9	12
Ad in Paper or Radio	3	2	0
Social Agency	1	1	0
Employment Office	8	6	0
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	286	127	17

It is surprising to note the small differences in job finding behavior which are found among those who knew English before their arrival and those who learned the language later. One possible explanation for this may be that some of these persons who learned the language after their arrival in the state did so before they became active members of the labor force. For example, some males may have entered the state before reaching adulthood, have attended schools in Michigan, and learned the language before seeking the first job. It is also possible that language skills are not highly important for the jobs which this population holds.

Despite the lack of wide differences between these two groups, it is possible to notice several trends which are in the direction which might be expected. These trends become especially apparent only when the group who have never learned English are also compared. This latter group represent those who could be expected to possess the greatest language problems, but their small numbers require caution in interpretation.

Those persons who knew English before arriving in Michigan are the least likely to rely on the assistance of friends and "other persons" for obtaining their jobs. The increase of use of other persons by English ability ranges from about 6 to 12 percent, while the assistance of friends is much more often used by those who never learned to speak English. The persons with the lesser language facility, as expected, appear to need somewhat more the assistance of someone who can give personal guidance in the job search procedure or serve as intermediaries in interviews with employers. Those who had a command of the language before arrival went around looking more often, consulted ads more often, and were capable of using the facilities of the state employment service more often than those without this skill. There is a steady decline in all these categories from those who learned English before arrival to those who have never learned the language. All of these procedures would be very difficult to use by one who could not use the language easily. The limited use of relatives by those who have never learned the language may be a result of relatives not being familiar with English themselves. On the other hand, going directly to the company is more frequent among those learning English after arrival and never learning it at all. The high proportion of Spanish-only speakers who obtained their first jobs directly at the employers may very well be attributable to sampling error or may perhaps include many who obtained first jobs in year-round agricultural work from the farmer for whom they had been working during the previous harvest. In general, then, we must reject the hypothesis that English ability and any particular methods of finding the first job after settlement are associated, at least as these variables were measured in this study. We do not, however, believe that the measures were so precise or the number sufficiently large to conclude definitively that the difference in the ability to speak English makes no differences in how Mexican-American migrants seek and find their first jobs.

Adult language preference and finding the present job. Let us see if other measures of language competence or preference have any influence upon job finding. As an indicator of comfort and familiarity of the respondents with English, they were asked what language they used with the other adult members of their family at home. These responses do not indicate that the persons are competent only in one language or the other if they indicated that they either used Spanish or English most of the time. However, it does indicate the language context with which the respondent is probably most familiar.

The same trends concerning the influence of English ability on means of finding first jobs are also found in regard to obtaining the present jobs. We may have, in this case, however, more confidence in the reliability of the findings because of the larger numbers of each class of respondents. While those who use Spanish about half the time at home have a slightly higher percentage finding jobs by means of friends compared to full-time English speakers, those speaking mostly Spanish at home use friends about twice as often, one such person in five having obtained his present job in this way. The use of friends, relatives, or other persons accounts for over one-third of the acquiring of present jobs by mostly Spanish speakers but only somewhat over one-fourth of those in the other two categories.

Table 3-18

LANGUAGE USED WITH OTHER ADULT MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY BY METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT JOB

Method of Obtaining Present Job	Language Used by Adults in Home Mostly English %	 Half English Half Spanish %	 Mostly Spanish %
Went to Company	49	51	50
Went Looking	4	8	3
Friends Told/Took	10	12	20
Relatives Told/Took	13	11	11
Other Person	5	6	7
Ad in Paper or Radio	6	3	2
Social Agency	1	1	1
Employment Office	11	9	7
Total %	99	101	101
Total N	149	193	257

Despite our greater confidence in them, the differences noted in the columns of Table 3-18 like those in 3-17 are not only small but also affect only half of those in each category since going directly to the company accounts for 50 percent of the jobs regardless of language familiarity or preference. Thus far then, we cannot but reject the idea that English ability is particularly influential in how Mexican-Americans get jobs, at least in so far as we have adequately measured these variables.

Making out applications in English and job finding methods. Our original thought that English ability must make a difference in job finding is tenacious. We have one more piece of evidence to consider. Most jobs require the applicant to fill out forms and to undergo an interview. We asked each interviewee if he had ever filled out an application for a job in English. Only one in six had not done so. Table 3-19 shows how those who have or have not done so obtained their present jobs. In addition, Table 3-20 contains the distribution of job finding methods according to whether those who said they had never filled out an application in English asserted that they could or could not do so if required to in the future. This final group of 73 respondents provides a fairly critical test of our hypothesis that lack of language ability results in significantly higher dependence on friends, relatives or other persons in obtaining jobs for they have acknowledged that their present English capability is insufficient to fill out a required form. If this group does not reveal any greater dependence upon personal intermediaries then we may indeed reject our hypothesis with some confidence. The findings in Table 3-19, however, are in the direction of our original hypothesis. Comparing those who have filled out applications in English with those who have never done so, we find that nearly half (47%) of the latter group found their present jobs through friends, relatives or other persons while less than one-third (29%) of those who had written English applications used these means.

Table 3-19

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT OR LAST-HELD JOB BY HAVING EVER MADE OUT AN APPLICATION IN ENGLISH

Method of Obtaining Present Job	Application in English Yes %	Application in English No %	If no, could he? Yes %	If no, could he? No %
Went to Company	52	39	54	36
Went Looking	5	5	7	4
Friends Told/Took	13	25	18	26
Relatives Told/Took	11	11	7	12
Other Person	5	11	7	12
Ad in Paper or Radio	3	3	4	3
Social Agency	1	1	0	1
Employment Office	10	5	4	6
Total %	100	100	101	100
Total N	492	107	28	73

Again, however, we find that the use of relatives does not vary in this regard. Either, as suggested above, relatives might be equally deficient in English or perhaps where relatives are available they are nearly always used if possible and the presence of relatives in the community does not differ significantly on the variables we have been considering. Going to the company, and use of the employment service was higher among those having made applications in English. If we consider those who report themselves to be unable to fill out an application in

English, we find, comparing them to the small number who haven't but could that the above differences are merely increased. The direction of findings is the same.

Unfortunately none of these data allow a conclusive answer to the questions of how important and in what ways English ability among Mexican-American migrants influences how jobs are obtained. English is perhaps less important within the customary job search range of the lower skilled worker than it would be if the worker had a higher level of skill and education. For example, we would expect that this variable might be more influential in the case of the Cuban immigrants, a higher proportion of whom have completed secondary education and have entrepreneurial, sales or service experience. We find few Mexican-Americans in occupations requiring considerable skill in English. Those going directly to companies and looking around may find their deficiencies in English speaking or reading and writing relatively unimportant in applying for the jobs they seek. Were they to expand their job search to a broader range of occupations and employers, this might change the findings we have observed. This same point, by the way, can be made regarding the impact of other personal attributes on the job finding process, some of which we discuss below. It is always possible, indeed probable, that when a person is aware of deficiencies in relation to requirements for jobs, he may simply select himself out of that particular segment of the job market. We will examine the relationship between language, education, and other personal attributes with the occupations and industries of jobs presently held in the next chapter. Now we will try to determine whether education is related to ways of finding present jobs.

(2) Education and Job Finding.

As shown in Table 3-20, the relationship between the education which a person has and the means which he used to obtain his present job is not high. This population has a low overall level of education with only 27 of 598, or less than 5 percent, who have more than a high school education. Consequently the range of occupations in respect to educational requirements which they could be expected to seek will be relatively small. This in itself is sufficient to eliminate many differences which might otherwise be expected.

Table 3-20

THE METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT JOB BY EDUCATION

Method of Obtaining Present Job	Years of Education Completed				
	None %	1-4 %	5-8 %	9-12 %	Over 12 %
Went to Company	52	43	51	52	56
Went Looking	4	7	6	3	0
Friends Told/Took	18	19	15	12	7
Relatives Told/Took	10	10	10	14	7
Other Person	8	7	6	4	11
Ad in Paper or Radio	1	4	3	4	7
Social Agency	1	2	0	1	4
Employment Office	6	8	9	10	7
Total %	100	100	100	100	99
Total N	73	135	196	167	27

There are some differences in job seeking behavior which vary in a regular manner, even though they are not great. There is a general decline in the use of friends as the means of getting work as one gets more education. Also those persons who are better educated find work less often by just looking about for work. This would suggest that those persons with more education use somewhat more formal channels and have a somewhat better idea of the types of jobs which they can expect to obtain. This is further supported by the slightly greater number of better educated persons who went directly to the company to find work. These differences are so small that they can only be presented as suggestive of possible characteristics of those with more education.

(3) Age and Job Finding

Do workers of different ages find their jobs in different ways? Table 3-21 suggests that they do not do so to any appreciable extent. The youngest workers just entering the labor force went most frequently to the company or just looked around in finding their present jobs. They relied least upon friends, relatives or other persons but they used the employment service about as often as any age group. There appears to be an increasing use of personal intermediaries up to the 41-50 year category, as age increases. This is due primarily to the increasing use of friends since relatives are used less often after 25 as age increases. Looking around increases somewhat up to 50 years but drops after 50. The use of the employment service remains relatively constant in each age category.

Table 3-21

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT OR LAST-HELD JOB
BY AGE AT THE TIME OF EMPLOYMENT

Method of Obtaining Job	Age at the Time of Employment in Present or Last-Held Job					
	20 or Under	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Went to Company	60	51	55	42	53	43
Went Looking	4	4	3	5	9	2
Friends Told/Took	11	10	17	20	15	14
Relatives Told/Took	13	17	12	11	5	5
Other Person	0	4	3	9	6	17
Ad in Paper or Radio	2	2	3	3	4	7
Social Agency	2	1	0	0	3	2
Employment Office	9	10	7	10	5	10
Total %	101	99	100	100	100	100
Total N	55	140	100	163	99	42

(4) Years in Michigan and Finding the Present Job.

One might expect that greater experience in a community and presumably greater knowledge of the local job market might change job finding patterns. In Table 3-22, we have displayed the methods of obtaining the present or last-held job by the number of years of residence in Michigan prior to finding this job. About one-third of the jobs obtained up to 15 years residence are found with the assistance of friends, relatives, or other persons. After 15 this drops to about one-fourth. Looking around tends to increase with years of residence but going directly to a company without referral remains relatively constant. The use of ads and of the state employment service does not vary systematically with years of residence. Social agencies become more important as a source of finding employment with increased length of residence in the community.

Table 3-22

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE PRESENT OR LAST-HELD JOB
BY YEARS OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN MICHIGAN

Method of Obtaining Job	Years of Michigan Residence at Time of Obtaining Present Job				
	0-4 %	5-9 %	10-14 %	15-19 %	20 or more %
Went to Company	48	54	51	53	48
Went Looking	4	4	6	7	10
Friends Told/Took	16	13	18	14	10
Relatives Told/Took	13	14	8	2	7
Other Person	5	7	6	7	10
Ad in Paper or Radio	2	2	7	4	5
Social Agency	0	1	1	2	5
Employment Office	12	5	3	11	5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	297	136	71	55	40

(5) Job Training and Job Finding.

The educational level of the Mexican-American population in Michigan is generally very low with the mean number of years of formal education for males being only 6.6 years. Despite this general lack of regular education, the 42 percent of males who responded affirmatively to questions concerning various forms of adult training they had received indicated a rather widespread interest in education which will lead to better jobs. Among this group 19 percent have at some time involved themselves in specialized job training, 4 percent in apprenticeship training, 21 percent in day or night adult education classes (mostly for literacy training), and 11 percent have attended military schools while serving in the armed forces. Half of those having specialized job training learned mechanical skills or welding, electronics or carpentry. Some studied English or math as well. A few learned office skills. Well over half (59%) of this training took place in Michigan. One of five (21%), however, received job training in Texas before migrating to Michigan.

More than half (55%) continued job training for more than six months. One-third (32%) spent more than a year in such training. Five percent of the sample respondents having job training were involved in it at the time of the interview. Of those beginning training, over two-thirds (69%) completed it. The major reasons given for quitting training were moving and a lack of time because of work or family responsibilities. Sixty percent of those with job training believed that it subsequently helped them in getting a job.

Like job training, apprenticeship training occurred largely in Michigan and involved learning various crafts or mechanical skills. More than half (60%) were apprenticed for more than six months. One of five of those reporting apprenticeship training were apprentices at the time of the interview. As in the case of job training, about two-thirds (60%) completed apprenticeship training.

One respondent of every five (21%) has at one time or another received adult education instruction. Over half of these (58%) were taught English reading and writing. The next largest category (13%), however, took high school level courses at day or night classes. The vast majority (85%) received this training in Michigan. One-fifth were enrolled in adult education courses at the time of the interview.

Military service may involve training which is useful in obtaining a new job upon return to civilian life. Somewhat more than one of ten (11%) of the male family heads reported attending armed services' schools. About 30 percent described their training as concerned with specific military skills not applicable in civilian life. However, nearly one-fourth (24%) were taught mechanical skills, welding, and electronics; the remainder also were trained in skills having application in civilian life, such as office skills, cooking, or meat cutting. The rate of completion was, not unexpectedly, unusually high (90%). Nevertheless, fewer than half of those involved (39%) believe that their service training helped them obtain a civilian job later.

It is worth noting that one of every 14 persons (7%) not retired was currently involved in job training, an apprenticeship program or adult education when interviewed. This suggests, as do other data, that there is ample motivation among Mexican-American workers in Michigan to get ahead by further training. Further support for this conclusion is provided by the responses to this question: "If you had the chance, would you be willing to enroll in a six-month training program, with pay, in order to get into a better line of work?" About two-thirds said "yes" (64%) without restrictions. Only one in four (27%) replied "no."

The present study did not attempt to answer questions concerning the effect these different forms of training and education had upon the types of positions which were secured as a result of the courses, but an attempt was made to assess the effect which this type of training had upon the methods which were successful in securing the present job (Table 3-23). A comparison was made between all those persons who had had any of the four types of training which have been mentioned and those who had received none. Of the total population, over two-fifths (42%) had received some type of training. A comparison of these indicates that this training had very little effect upon the way jobs were secured. Slightly more of these with no training (52%) went directly to the company for their jobs than was the case for those without (47%). Also friends were used less often by those with training (12% vs. 17%). The employment service was used more (12% vs. 7%) by those with training.

When the methods of obtaining jobs used by those who did and those who did not have each of the different types of training are compared, it is possible to note a few instances in which the training did have a greater influence on the method of getting a job. There are two types of additional education which had little influence on how jobs were obtained, however. As might be expected, the differences between those who had participated in adult education classes and those who had not, showed

Table 3-23

METHOD OF OBTAINING PRESENT JOB BY JOB TRAINING

Method of Obtaining Present Job	Any Type		Job Training		Apprenticeship Training		Adult Education		Military Training	
	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
Went to Company	52	47	49	53	50	41	50	50	49	58
Went Looking	5	5	5	2	5	6	5	5	5	5
Friends Told/Took	17	12	15	14	16	0	16	12	16	7
Relatives Told/Took	11	12	12	8	11	13	11	12	12	7
Other Person	5	7	6	8	6	6	6	7	6	5
Ad in Paper or Radio	2	4	3	5	3	13	3	5	3	6
Social Agency	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	0
Employment Office	7	12	9	9	8	22	9	7	8	12
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	100	100	100
Total N	347	252	488	112	568	32	477	123	532	67

the fewest differences. Since this type of training was not specifically designed to give job skills, the persons completing a course of instruction would not necessarily be expected to use different methods of getting work, and indeed there were almost no differences. But neither did the 18 percent of the population which have had specific job training show differences in the way they got their last job. It was found that slightly more of those without training relied upon "looking around" and the intervention of their relatives to find their present job. Despite these small trends, those persons having adult education and specific job training continued to find employment in essentially the same manner as those who had not participated in these programs.

Military training seems to have had a greater influence upon ways of getting a civilian job than either adult education or civilian job training. The most important difference between those who had military training and those not in the armed services is in the extent to which they used the assistance of friends and relatives. Those with military training used these sources only about half as often as those without this training. Instead they went directly to the company and to the state employment service for their present jobs. It can be suggested that these persons were able to sell some of the skills they had obtained in the military to potential employers through direct application. While it can in no way be supported by the existing evidence, it might be suggested that the persons in the military developed some greater understanding of the manner in which bureaucratic organizations, such as an employment service, operate and this might make it easier for them to use such channels.

Those who had apprenticeship training also showed some important differences, although the very small number of cases (32) suggests extreme caution in generalizing these findings. Those with this training used the employment service 22 percent of the time and the ads in 13 percent of the cases; those without apprenticeship training used these sources only 8 percent and 3 percent respectively. At the same time friends were used in 16 percent of the cases by those without the training, and not at all by those who had been apprentices. Those who have a particular skill appear to use formal channels through which they can sell that particular skill directly. In fact, they go directly to the company slightly less often than those without training, possibly because they can sell their skills through more formal channels.

The findings here which often fail to show significant differences between those who have continued their education beyond regular schooling and those who have not, do not necessarily indicate that this training has not been important in influencing the types of jobs which these different groups have obtained. This will be discussed in the next chapter. However, with the few exceptions which have been noted, both groups go through the same procedures to obtain their jobs.

(6) Discrimination and Job Finding.

Fewer than one of ten respondents (8%) reported ever having been discriminated against in seeking employment in Michigan simply because of his being a Mexican-American. This does not mean, of course, that only this proportion of workers has actually been discriminated against by prospective employers. Mexican-American leaders suggest that such discrimination is much more widespread. It does indicate, however, that if discrimination is more prevalent, only a few workers perceive it as such. Comments by respondents on this question suggest a willingness to interpret what could conceivably be instances of discrimination in a manner indicating self-blame. For example, a number described a job refusal situation and then explained that they did not think it was discrimination because the personnel officer gave a plausible reason such as their inadequate English or inexperience. When only one of every four (26%) respondents will disagree with a statement such as "Mexican-Americans often blame other Americans for our situation, but it's really our own fault," and well over half (60%) endorse it, a tendency for self-blame seems to be indicated. On the other hand, it is also the case that two-thirds (66%) agreed with the statement that "Mexican-Americans in this town have to work harder than Anglos to get ahead," indicating some general feeling of inequity in opportunities.

In any case, it seems apparent that a feeling of discrimination in employment in Michigan is not a salient one among most respondents, assuming that their response to the question asked was a valid one. It may well be the case that few Mexican-Americans have sought jobs in plants or lines of work in which discrimination might most likely be encountered. Avoidance of such situations of potential rebuff would be consistent with subcultural norms. Furthermore, the fact that most work at places having other Mexican-Americans would suggest that the job search may be structured in terms of places known in the community to hire Mexican-Americans, and referrals by friends or relatives are most likely to be to such places.

Chapter 4

MAKING A LIVING: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME PATTERNS

In examining in Chapter 3 the methods by which Mexican-American migrants obtained their first jobs in Michigan and by which migrants and Michigan-born or raised Mexican-Americans found their present or last jobs, we necessarily presented the occupational and industrial distributions of these jobs. In this chapter, we wish to devote our attention more directly to the patterns of employment and income among Mexican-American residents, particularly as they have changed during the last two decades of increasing in-migration. Specifically, we are most interested in the critical employment and income transitions that are characteristic of that large segment of our sample (553 or 88.5%) which migrated into Michigan after entry into the labor force elsewhere, usually Texas, and, within this segment, in that 70 percent who did migrant (55.8%) or farm work (14.7%) prior to settlement in Michigan. It was this transition from migratory farm labor to urban-industrial employment which was, of course, the central focus in the origination of this study. We find that nearly 40 percent (39.2%) of our sample of male Mexican-American family heads did migratory farm work after the age of 16 in Michigan before settlement. A section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of this transition from field to factory. Another transition that is important, regardless of whether it is compounded by a concurrent shift from agriculture to industry, is that between the last job in Texas and the first in Michigan. Finally, we will compare the first job in Michigan with the present or last-held job to see what degree of stability or change by occupation and industry is manifested by our sample. The more general question of occupational and socio-economic mobility will be treated in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Additional sections of this chapter will present findings on job satisfaction and inclination to change jobs or occupations and consider data on work by other family members, particularly wives of household heads, one-third of whom were working at least part-time at the time of the survey.

The final section of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of income, saving and expenditure patterns, although much data relevant to wages of male family heads and their wives will be presented along with the analysis of jobs in earlier sections. Income mobility of the workers over their work histories will be analyzed in the next chapter on mobility.

1. The Historical Occupational and Industrial Distributions of the Michigan Mexican-American Labor Force.

Since our interviewers collected complete job and residence histories for each household head, we are able to reconstruct approximately the occupational or industrial distribution of those respondents resident in Michigan in any given year, shown in Tables 4-1 and 4-2 and Figures 4-1 through 4-4. By this means we can gain insight into the patterns of recruitment prevailing in different periods and assess roughly the impact of the growing number of Mexican-Americans on job concentration in "ethnically specialized" jobs or, on the contrary, diversification. It must be noted, however, that two weaknesses inhere in the treatment of these data in this manner. First, we cannot attribute changes from one five year interval to the next as solely the result of the job placements of newly arriving migrants[1] or new labor force

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[1] Also each year a larger portion of the population is comprised of those born and raised in Michigan. By 1967, those entering the labor force there comprise 22 percent of the total.

members since much shifting by those arriving earlier is also occurring during the intervals. Second, the choice of the dates at which each distribution is generated can change the pattern to some degree. We selected the final period of each year for which a distribution is provided. Had we chosen a period during the summer or other years, we would be likely to find distributions somewhat different from those presented. Therefore, one can only with caution interpret the lines joining the bars representing distributions of each year as monotonically changing in the direction indicated during the intervening five year interval. Thus, for example, while the percent unemployed in December, 1955 was only 0.5 and in December, 1960 was 0.9 for our sample, we know that during the recession years intervening the rate of unemployment was considerably higher. If we had generated a distribution for 1958, we would have had to show a rise and then a decline in the percent unemployed. This could be the case, as well, for other categories. With these limitations in mind, let us turn to an inspection of the pattern of the building up of the Mexican-American segment of the Michigan labor force over two decades.

(1) Occupational Distributions, 1940-1967.

Table 4-1 displays the occupational distributions for six different years, beginning in 1940. Note in each successive year shown that the total number upon which the distribution is based increases up to the total number of males interviewed in late 1967 and early 1968. Thus only 11.2 percent of those here in 1967 were resident here in late 1940. The labor force nearly doubled in size during World War II and again during the first five years following the war. Many Mexican-Americans had been recruited by Michigan war industries short of local manpower directly from Texas and after the war

Table 4-1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS

Occupation	1940 %	1945 %	1950 %	1955 %	1960 %	1967 %
Professional, Technical*	4.3	3.2	2.1	3.4	3.9	5.1
Clerical, Sales	0.0	0.8	0.8	2.7	3.3	2.1
Craftsmen, Foremen	15.7	8.9	10.5	9.5	11.7	12.6
Drivers, Operators	44.3	60.5	63.3	66.6	59.7	56.2
Service	2.9	2.4	4.6	4.5	5.4	5.0
Farm Laborers	12.9	8.9	6.8	3.2	3.9	2.9
Laborers	17.1	10.5	8.0	8.5	9.8	5.6
Retired	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.3	7.5
Unemployed	1.4	3.2	2.5	0.5	0.9	2.4
Student, Unknown	1.4	1.6	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	70	124	237	377	461	626
Percent of Total N	11.2	19.8	37.9	60.2	73.6	100.0

*Includes managers and proprietors also.

the continued demand for labor resulted in their being followed by others, often friends or relatives. Between 1950 and 1955 the population increased by about two-thirds. The impact of the recession years of the late 1950's is revealed in the decline in the rate of increase of the population to less than half that of the previous period (22.3% vs. 59% increase). From the end of 1960 to the end of 1967 when the survey was carried out, the rate of increase had increased only to 35.7 percent, even given an extra two years in the interval. The decline in the rate of build-up has been paralleled by a decline in the absolute number of new settlers as well. We attribute the failure of a return to the high rate of in-migration experienced before 1955 not to any narrowing of wage or level of living differentials between Texas and Michigan or the demand for workers here but rather to the increasingly critical shortage of housing. Technological displacement of migrant farm laborers by mechanization of harvesting had not yet had a particularly great impact at the time of the study. We would speculate that the rate of settling out of migratory farm labor has increased in the last year and one-half or, at least, that the absolute number of dropouts has become greater. We cannot even estimate at what rate and in what number Mexican-Americans not involved in the migrant stream are moving to Michigan, but it is probably small compared to those staying over at the end of each harvest.

Remember in reference to the absolute numbers represented in Tables 4-1 and 4-2 and in Figures 4-1 and 4-3 that our sample is estimated to represent only one-half of Michigan's Mexican-American population as of late 1967, excluding as it does the Detroit metropolitan area. Thus, we must not only inflate our numbers by about five times those observed, since the effective sampling fraction was about 20 percent (the sample is self-weighting), but also double this result when speculating upon numbers in Michigan as a whole. Furthermore the reader should not interpret the rates of increase or the additions to the total number from one year to the next as representing the rate of settling out of migrant farm workers or as the basis for estimating the number of new immigrants from Texas or elsewhere for we have no knowledge of the rate of return of families who stay in Michigan communities only a few years and then return to Texas communities of origin. Thus, it is likely that the rate of increase from 1955 to 1960 is somewhat lower than the rate of dropping out of the migrant stream since some previously settled residents who lost jobs during the recession must have returned to Texas to marginal employment or unemployment. It is worth emphasizing again that the findings of this study are relevant only to settled Mexican-Americans as of a

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specific date. Such cross-sectional data permit little insight into the process of migration into and out of Michigan in response to economic fluctuations which change labor demand or to other factors influencing movement. We have noted in Chapter 2, however, that the histories of those interviewed and their expressed intentions indicate high residential commitment and stability in Michigan. Furthermore, an attempt (in communities of heavy out-migration to Michigan) to locate returned settlers who had spent at least a winter in Michigan was almost completely unsuccessful. This leads us to hypothesize that when families leave Michigan they probably move to other parts of the Midwest or even to the coasts instead of returning to Texas communities of origin. In any case, nothing we have found suggests substantial return migration once settlement in Michigan has occurred, at least not after several years of such settlement.

Returning to Table 4-1 and Figures 4-1 and 4-2 which present the same data in more graphic terms, we observe several trends in the changing distribution of Mexican-American residents by occupation over nearly two decades. The following seem most salient:

1. Since 1940 there has been a steady decline in the proportion of workers classifiable as either farm or non-farm laborers. The percent employed as laborers in 1967 (5.6%) was but a third of that in 1940 (17.1%). Similarly, farm labor as an occupation for permanent settlers, while never a major source of employment, has declined to insignificance in proportion employed in 1967.

2. The proportion of the labor force segment comprised of Mexican-Americans working as operatives accounts for nearly one-half to two-thirds of all occupations in any of the six years considered. It rises sharply from 1940 to 1945 under the impact of direct recruitment for war industries

Figure 4-1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS (ACTUAL NUMBER)

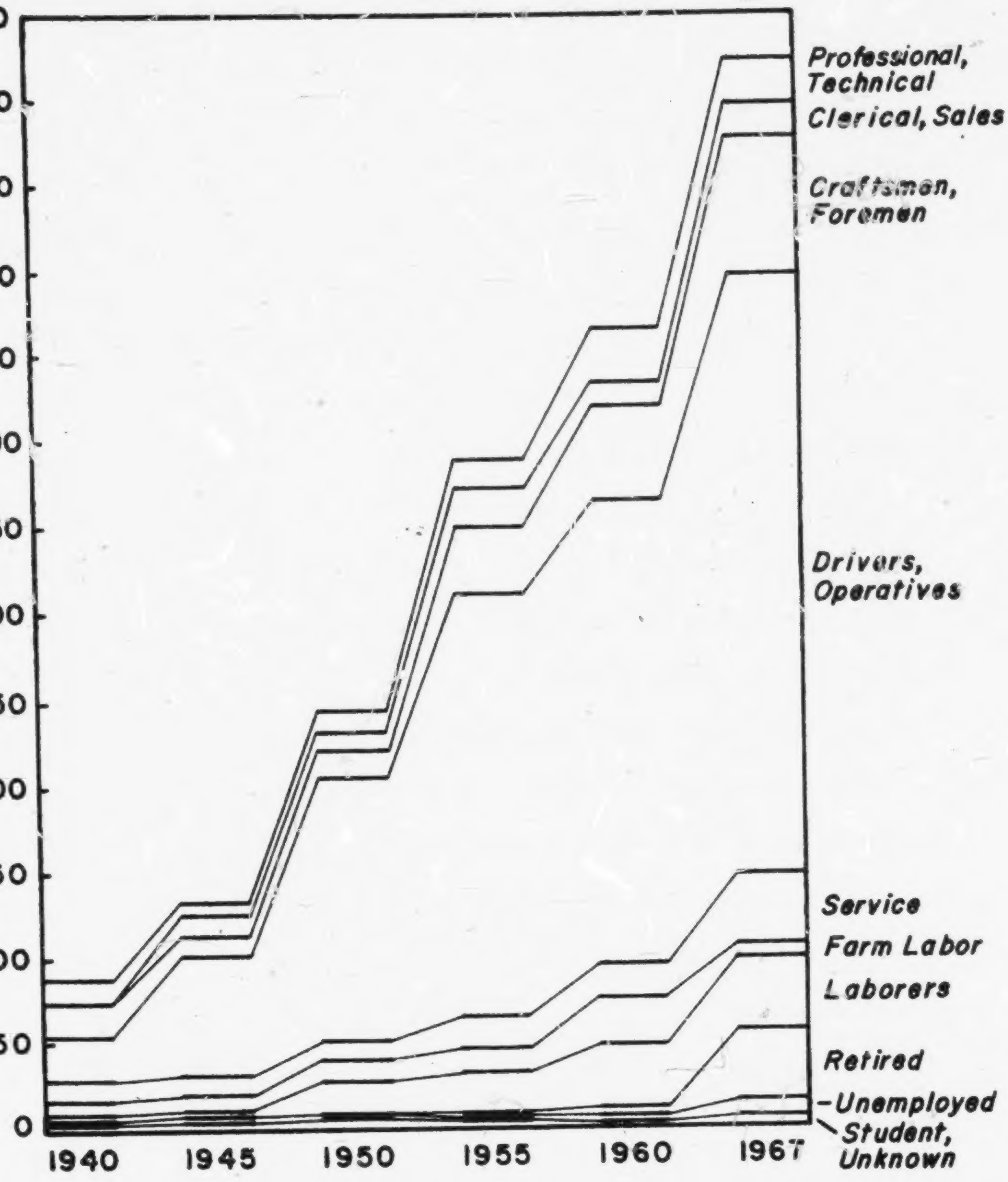
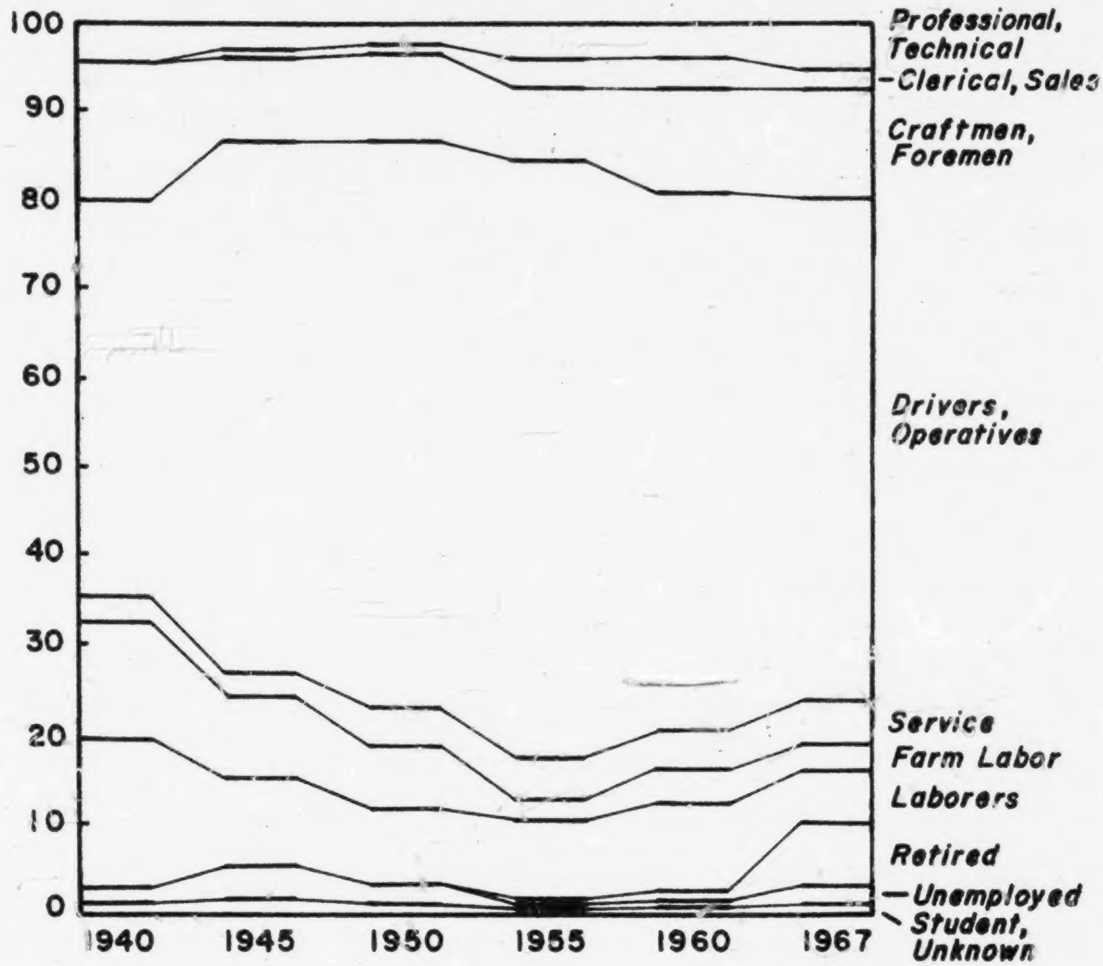


Figure 4-2

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS(PERCENT)



and continues to rise during the first post-war decade after which it declines somewhat, partially due to the increasing percent of retirees who had previously worked as operatives. It is notable that it is retirement, not upgrading to craftsmen or foremen or increases in clerical, sales or service workers which accounts for the relative decline in operatives.

3. The nearly sixfold increase in the percent retired from 1960 to 1967 represents the advance to retirement age of earlier migrants, especially those coming into the Michigan labor force before World War II.

4. Clerical and sales and service always have been and continue to be insignificant occupations for Mexican-Americans in Michigan. Undoubtedly, insufficient English language ability as well as discrimination is a major reason for this. We had expected, however, that these occupations would become more important as second-generation Michigan Mexican-Americans entered the labor force. This may become the case in the future but other evidence suggests that there may be a pattern of inheritance of factory employment from father to son despite evidence to be presented in the next chapter that fathers' stated aspirations for their sons' occupation is overwhelmingly professional and technical. It is notable in this regard that neither clerical and sales nor service occupations were mentioned by respondents as hoped-for occupational statuses for sons in any significant number of cases.

5. If substantial occupational up-grading was taking place within the Mexican-American segment of the labor force, we would expect an increase in the percent employed as craftsmen and foremen. While no consistent trend is shown, the opposite seems to be the case, for there has been a slight decline in the percent represented by this category. Caution in interpretation

must be exercised here, however, for it is the case that the absolute number of craftsmen and foremen has increased from one five year period to the next, albeit at different rates. Thus significant up-grading may be taking place since most new entrants into the labor force directly from Texas or out of the migrant stream are moving into lower level occupations such as laborer or, at best, operative.

6. Professional and technical occupations (collapsed here with managers and proprietors) have fluctuated from year to year as a proportion of total occupations. Starting at 4.3 percent in 1940, this category dipped to 2.1 by 1950 and rose again to 5.1 by 1967. The number of ethnic professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers and managers and, especially proprietors, has increased, nevertheless, with the growth of the Mexican-American sub-community. The increase in professionals has been mainly the result of direct migration from other parts of the country and from new entrants into the labor force from the better educated second-generation of residents. There are, of course, no persons in professional or technical occupations entering them upon dropping out of the migrant stream. The number of managers and proprietors tends to increase with the founding of businesses catering mainly to Mexican-American clientele, such as restaurants, record stores, bars, groceries and food products operations such as tortilla bakeries. The establishment of new small businesses, in turn, is dependent upon the size, rate of growth, and areal concentration of the Mexican-American sub-community in each city. As the Mexican-American sub-community continues to increase in size and a large number of young people go on to higher education, we will see a continued growth of these occupational categories and, perhaps, an increasing proportion of the total Mexican-American labor force in them.

7. As expected, unemployment as a percent of the total Mexican-American labor force varies quite independently of other occupational categories, being a function more of general economic conditions and resulting labor force demand than of anything determining the distribution of occupations. The highest relative unemployment was experienced in late 1955 as a transition was required from war industries to civilian production during reconversion. As noted above, there was a sharp increase in unemployment undergone during the recession of the late 1950's but this is not reflected in the years chosen which show only the pre- and post-recession levels of 1955 and 1960.

Before moving on to a parallel consideration of the changing industrial distributions, it is useful to compare the occupational distribution of the Mexican-American segment of the Michigan labor force with that of the state as a whole. Table 4-2 juxtaposes these data for 1960 for which there is the closest match in time between our data and those provided by the 1960 U.S. Census, despite the fact there is still about nine months difference between the two sets.

Clearly, in 1960 Mexican-Americans were greatly over-represented in operative and laboring occupations and under-represented in the professional, managerial and proprietorial as well as clerical and sales occupations, likewise in the crafts. The percent in service occupations is almost the same as that of the total male labor force. It will be useful to keep in mind that in 1960, three-quarters of the Mexican-American male workers were either operatives or laborers compared to only one-third of the total male labor force in Michigan. By 1967, this had declined to about two-thirds of the working Mexican-American males but was still twice the percent found in the 1960 census in the total labor force. Only somewhat more than half the percent of Mexican-American workers have entered into crafts or achieved the status of foreman. Five times as high a proportion of the general male labor force is found in professional and technical or managerial and proprietary occupations as in the Mexican-American.

Table 4-2

SAMPLED MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND TOTAL MICHIGAN MALE LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION (1960)

Occupation	Mexican-American Sample %	Michigan[a] %
Professional, Technical Managers, Proprietors	4.0	22.8
Clerical and Sales	3.3	13.3
Craftsmen, Foremen	12.0	21.6
Operatives	61.1	26.1
Service	5.6	5.7
Farm Laborers	4.0	1.1
Laborers (Non-farm)	10.0	5.5
Total %	100.0	96.1[b]
Total N	450	

[a] Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan, Final Report PC(1)-24C, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Printing Office, 1962) p. 199.

[b] Excluding occupation not reported (4.0%)

(2) Industrial Distributions, 1940-1967.

Table 4-3 displays the industrial distributions of respondents residing in Michigan at the end of the six years indicated. Several trends become apparent upon inspection of this table and Figures 4-3 and 4-4 based upon it.

Table 4-3

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN_AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS

Industry	1940 %	1945 %	1950 %	1955 %	1960 %	1967 %
Agriculture	14.3	9.7	6.8	3.7	5.9	3.4
Construction	5.7	4.8	4.6	5.8	7.2	6.5
Metals	25.7	33.9	31.6	28.6	22.6	20.3
Durables	2.9	2.4	7.6	9.0	8.0	6.2
Non-Durables	2.9	8.1	7.2	5.6	6.7	6.2
Motor Vehicles	30.0	25.8	26.2	31.8	30.2	33.2
Transportation, Utilities	7.1	3.2	2.1	2.9	1.7	2.1
Sales	2.9	1.6	2.1	4.2	6.5	3.8
Services	4.3	4.8	6.7	5.8	8.5	7.6
Retired	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.3	7.5
Unemployed	1.4	3.2	2.5	0.5	0.9	2.4
Student or Unknown	2.9	2.4	2.5	1.6	0.7	0.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	70	124	237	377	461	626
Percent of Total N	11.2	19.8	37.6	60.2	73.6	100.0

1. With the exception of a slight upswing in 1960, there has been a steady decline in the percent of workers employed in agriculture since 1940.

2. Similarly, after a rise to one-third of the Mexican-American employment in 1945, fabricated metals has declined to account for only one-fifth of the 1967 employment.

Figure 4-3

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS (ACTUAL NUMBER)

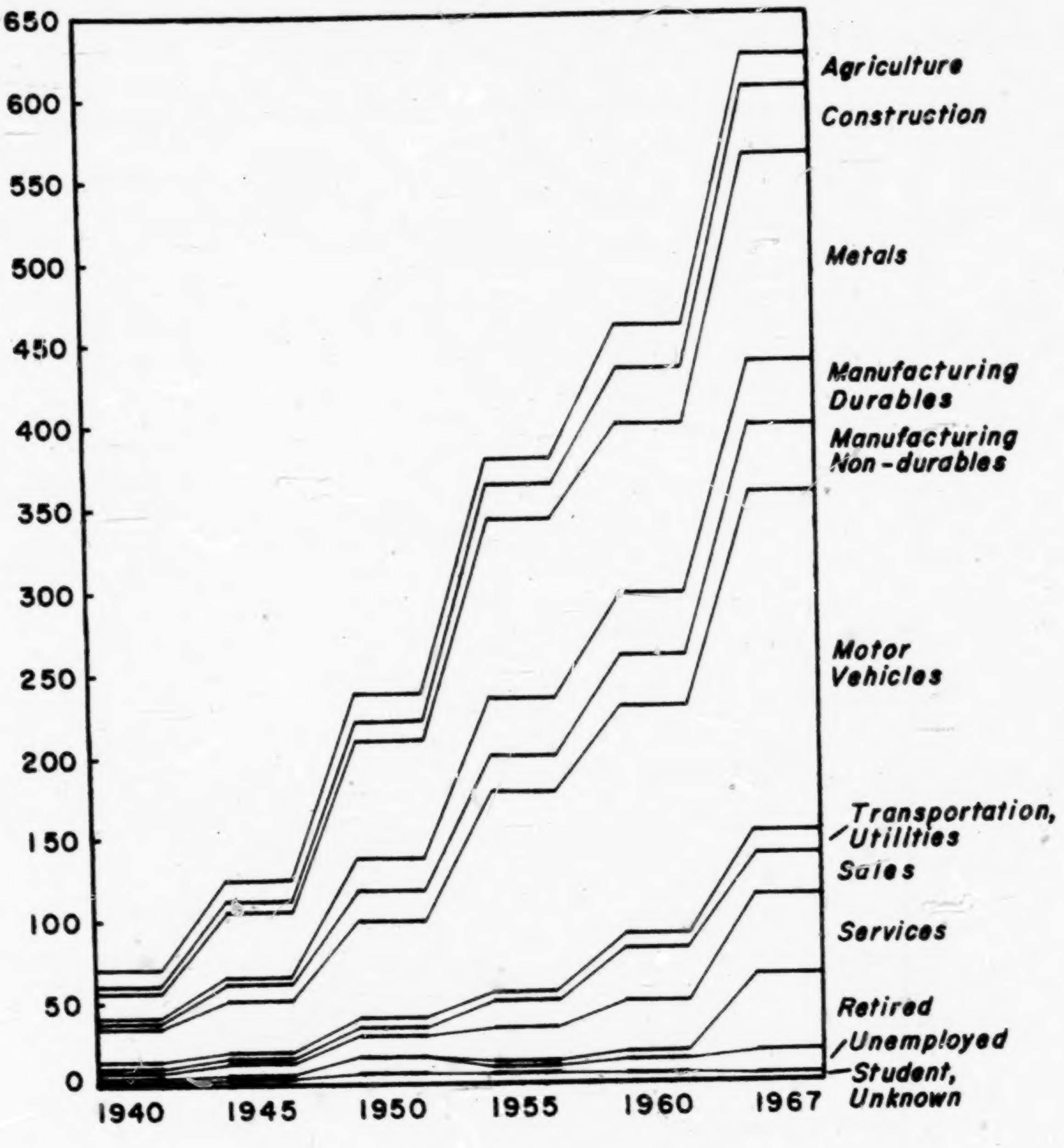
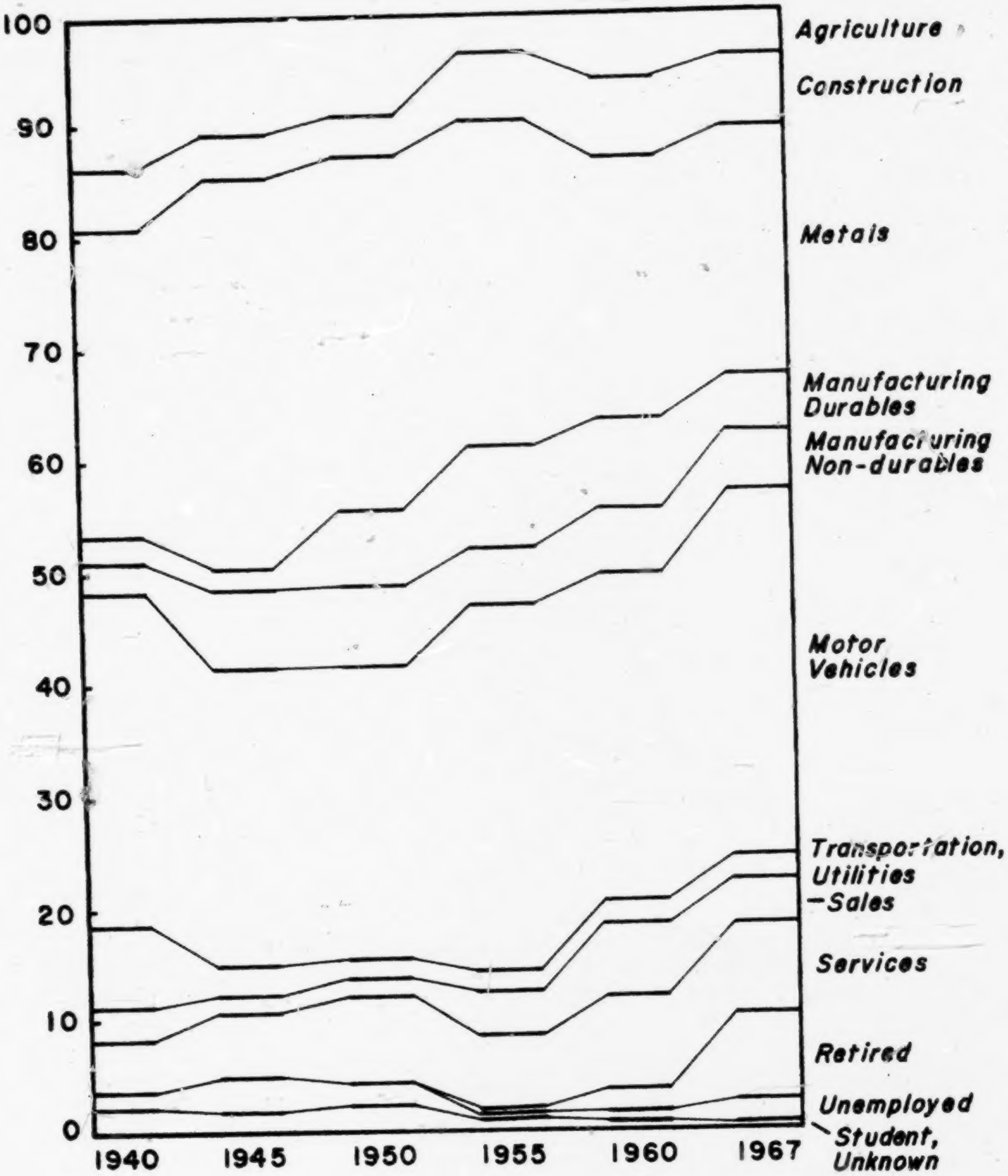


Figure 4-4

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MICHIGAN BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS (PERCENT)



3. Construction work and motor vehicle manufacturing have maintained relatively constant proportions of the total employment throughout the nearly two decades, with the automobile industry employing no less than one of every four workers in any given year, rising to its present (1967) high of one worker in three. It is further noteworthy that the motor vehicle and kindred metal-fabrication industries have always provided over half the jobs held by Mexican-Americans in Michigan. Table 4-4 shows how disproportionate this distribution of employment by industry is. Nearly seven times as large a proportion of Mexican-Americans worked in metal fabrication as did that of the total labor force. This is due to the historical patterns of direct recruitment out of the sugar beet fields and processing plants into the foundries of the expanding metal industry of Saginaw and Flint and to similar recruitment in Texas, particularly during World War II, for the manning of new metal plants like the war-built aluminum plants in Adrian. Before 1940 and to some degree even now, foundry and forge work is, in Michigan, a "specialty" of the Mexican-American, joined there, of course, by the migrant Negro. As we have shown in Chapter 3, once a critical mass of employment of a particular ethnic group is reached in an industry such as metal fabricating, then incoming migrants, unfamiliar with the total labor market, will tend to concentrate there as they obtain help in getting jobs from relatives and friends or go, by themselves, to the employer having the greatest visibility to their group.

4. It can be seen in Table 4-3 that the decline in the percent employed in metals has been accompanied by an increase in the percent in motor vehicles. This is partly perhaps more an artifact of coding than of any shift out of metal work since many of the jobs held by Mexican-Americans

in the automobile industry are in foundries and drop forges which are part of the production process. Indeed, since a foundry such as Chevrolet Gray Iron was coded as part of the motor vehicle, not the metal fabricating, industry, our data probably underestimate rather than overestimate the degree of concentration of Mexican-Americans in metal work.

5. As in the case of occupational change discussed earlier, the evidence in Table 4-3 suggests that shifts in proportions in each industry from 1960 to 1967 may be substantially due to the retirement of earlier migrants. This is the largest percentage shift between these years. Thus it is likely that new migrants are continuing to move in disproportionate numbers into foundries, forges and auto plants.

Returning to Table 4-4, it is emphasized again, as in the previous section, that Mexican-American males are under-represented in the sales and service industries. In 1960, while nearly half (44.3%) of Michigan's labor force was employed in these industries, only 15 percent of Mexican-Americans were so employed. Even a smaller percent (11.4%) was seven years later.

The somewhat disproportionate number of Mexican-Americans in construction can be accounted for by means of several reasons. First of all, it is important to realize that most of those employed in construction are employed as laborers, not as craftsmen. Construction has, for many migrant farm laborers, been a complementary form of part-time employment during the off-season in their Texas towns of origin. In addition, its pattern of team work, often out of doors, has appeal to those who find factory work noisy, dirty and confining. Our responses concerning likes and dislikes about jobs suggest that construction work would be attractive to even more Mexican-Americans were it able to provide year-round employment and some opportunity for advancement into building crafts.

Table 4-4

SAMPLED MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND TOTAL MICHIGAN MALE LABOR FORCES BY INDUSTRY (1960)

Industry	Mexican-American Sample %		Michigan[a]	
Agriculture, Mining	6.0		4.0	
Construction	7.4		4.6	
Manufacturing	69.4		38.0	
Fabricated Metals		23.2		3.4
Motor Vehicles		31.0		13.8
Other Durables		8.2		12.9
Non-Durables		6.9		8.0
Transportation, Utilities	1.7		5.8	
Sales	6.7		17.7	
Services	8.7		26.6	
Total %	100.0		96.7[b]	
Total N	448			

[a] Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan, Final Report PC(1)-24C, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Printing Office, 1962) p. 203.

[b] Excluding industry not reported (3.3%).

2. The First Job in Michigan.

For purposes of analysis with respect to the first job held in Michigan, our sample of 625 male household heads can be separated into two categories for whom this first job has quite different significance. The overwhelming majority of respondents (553 or 88.5%) migrated to Michigan. Only about 12 percent (75) were born in Michigan. However, 60 of those migrating to Michigan, or about 10 percent of the total sample of males, did so before the age of 16. Therefore, we can divide our male sample into 490 workers or 78 percent who had entered the labor force before migrating to Michigan and 135 or 22 percent for whom their first job in Michigan was their first job in the labor force as well. We will focus most of the analysis upon this large first category of workers who experienced, in obtaining their first jobs in Michigan, at least a change of employer and in most cases a change of occupation and industry concurrent with a long-distance residential change, using the smaller category of new labor force entrants as a contrasting group in certain instances.

(1) Changing Occupations with Migration

Three-fourths of those migrating to Michigan from Texas changed occupation as they obtained their first job there. Table 4-5 shows the numbers in each occupational status in Texas and in Michigan. Percents have not been calculated since the numbers in most of the occupations in Texas are so small as to make percents highly unstable. The underlined numbers along the diagonal are those persons who maintained the same occupational status despite migration. Only in the case of operatives was there a high degree of continuity in occupation. Over 50 percent of those who were drivers or operatives in their last job in Texas found similar

Table 4-5

FIRST OCCUPATION IN MICHIGAN BY LAST OCCUPATION IN TEXAS

First Occupation in Michigan	Last Occupation in Texas											Percent of Total	
	Prof., Tech., Man., Prop.	Clerical Sales	Craftsmen Foremen	Drivers Operators	Service	Farm Labor	Mig. Farm Work	Laborers	Student	Military	Unemployed		Total Number
Professional, Technical, Manager, Proprietor	1		1							1		0.8	3
Clerical, Sales		0						1				0.3	1
Craftsmen, Foremen			5	3			7	2	1	2	1	5.6	21
Drivers, Operators	5	8	14	45	8	15	36	30	5	10	10	49.7	186
Service			2	5	1	2	4	1	3		1	5.1	19
Farm Laborers	3		2	12		8	20	9	5	1	2	16.6	62
Laborers		2	7	12	6	6	16	14			6	18.4	69
Unemployed				3	2	1	3	1		1	2	3.5	13
Total N	9	10	31	80	17	32	86	58	14	15	22	100.0	374
Percent of Total	2.4	2.7	8.2	21.4	4.5	8.5	23.0	15.5	3.7	4.0	5.9		100.0

jobs in Michigan immediately upon arrival there. On the other hand, considerable occupational mobility seems to have occurred in the process of migration. Over half of those who held laboring jobs in Texas just before leaving found first jobs in Michigan as drivers or operatives. Only about one-fourth had to settle for another laboring job. Somewhat less than one-fourth (23.7%) of those employed last in agriculture in Texas, either on local farms or as migratory farm workers, did farm work in their first jobs after resettlement in Michigan. A surprising 43 percent of these Texas agricultural workers obtained jobs as drivers or operatives right away.

It is less surprising, however, that of those who were craftsmen or foremen just before leaving Texas, only one-sixth could find such jobs in their new communities of residence. Half of them became operatives instead. This is probably due to several differences in the employment situations in Texas and Michigan and, perhaps, to some extent to coding procedures. In some cases, union regulations may have kept a worker whose activities might be classifiable as crafts in Texas from continuing to do such work in Michigan, especially in construction. In the case of foremen, the status is seldom transferable especially if a change in industry is involved. Even within the same industry, however, the status of foreman is likely to be heavily dependent upon seniority and experience in the particular plant and is assigned at the discretion of the employer. In some cases, migratory farm labor crew leaders may have been classified as foremen and clearly could not continue in this capacity after settling in Michigan.

Only two of 22 workers who were unemployed before leaving Texas failed to get jobs upon arrival in Michigan.

In general, Table 4-5 indicates a strong trend toward operative occupational status in changes occurring with migration. While only 21 percent of the workers occupied this status in Texas, 50 percent did so after migration. While about one-third (31.5%) of the pre-migration Texas employment was in agriculture, just over half this proportion (16.6%) was found in the post-migration employment in Michigan. The row and column marginal percents again call attention to the occupational mobility that accompanied migration. While nearly half (47%) of the workers were farm or non-farm laborers in Texas, only slightly more than one-third (35%) were laborers in Michigan. Most craftsmen and foremen, however, sacrificed occupational status in order to migrate although they may have improved their income nonetheless by doing so.

(2) The First Job in Michigan by Occupation

In-migrants vs. locals. Do the workers already having labor force experience but migrating into a new labor market obtain jobs different from those first entering the labor force within that market. Several variables would lead us to expect differences. First, the in-migrant worker is older and more experienced both in a particular occupation or occupations and in job search procedures, although he may lack specific knowledge of the new labor market into which he is entering. The younger local labor force entrant is inexperienced in both work and job seeking, although he may have greater knowledge of the local labor market. Table 4-6 suggests that such differences occur but that in most occupations they are relatively insignificant for the Mexican-American population. The table does indicate, however, that the distributions of first jobs differ less between in-migrants and local labor force entrants than between both of these and the "ultimate" distribution of present or last jobs held by these same workers after varying numbers of years of participation in the Michigan labor market.

Table 4-6

FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY OCCUPATION BY MIGRATION STATUS

Occupation	First Job In-Migrant %	 Michigan Born and/or Raised %	Present or Last Job All Males %
Professional, Technical, Managers, Proprietors	1.1	3.4	5.3
Clerical, Sales	0.7	5.0	2.1
Craftsmen, Foremen	6.3	4.5	14.2
Operative	54.1	38.5	63.2
Service	5.7	9.0	5.5
Farm Laborer	12.2	17.3	3.3
Laborer	19.9	22.3	6.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	442	179	619

Because of their better education, a higher proportion of Michigan born and/or raised, hereafter referred to as local workers, began work in the top two occupational levels, but because of their youth and lack of experience, a smaller percent found their first jobs as craftsmen or foremen compared to in-migrating workers. A greater proportion of local workers (39.6%) had to begin their work careers as laborers compared to in-migrant workers (32.0%) It is rather surprising to find a higher percent of local workers taking first jobs as farm laborers (17.3%) than does in-migrants (12.2%). However, this may be explained by the fact that younger sons of ex-farm workers view this as a very accessible job, particularly in the smaller communities, for beginning work. Having few if any dependents and typically living with their parents, they can afford to work for the relatively low wages provided by agricultural employment. The distribution of present or last held jobs indicates that few continue in this occupation. On the other hand, the in-migrant is likely to attempt to avoid such work because he needs the higher pay of better occupations to support his family and, indeed, is not likely to migrate unless he can better his occupational status, particularly by leaving agricultural employment if he is already in it. Interviews indicate that those who took first jobs after resettlement as farm laborers did so largely because the job and housing were linked together. They obtained nonfarm employment as soon as possible, even as laborers, partly because of the much better pay.

Comparing first and present job distributions, it is clear that some progress is made toward craftsmen and foremen statuses and that operative occupations have absorbed a significant proportion of local and in-migrant workers who began as laborers or service workers. We will look at individual worker occupational mobility in more detail in the next chapter.

Average characteristics of first occupations compared. For the general population of any country, occupations can be ranked on a variety of characteristics. Rankings of occupations by income, education, and prestige are highly congruent. Furthermore, rankings have been shown to be remarkably similar in urban-industrial societies throughout the world. In studying the labor force distribution of an ethnic subpopulation, it is useful to determine the degree to which there appears to be an expected conformity of characteristics by occupations to those of the total population. In addition, it is of interest to determine the extent to which different occupations have distinctive configurations of characteristics. In Table 4-7 we present selected average characteristics of the first jobs Mexican-American male household heads have held in Michigan for each major occupational category. Later we will do so for the present or last held jobs.

Since the number upon which each average is based varies with the characteristic involved due to missing data or, in the case of median year of arrival, to use of a subset of respondents, we have provided the maximum number used for each occupation in the first column. In the first two categories, it is clear that, at maximum, the number is so small as to warrant caution in accepting the averages as reliable. Furthermore, there are great differences in the variance about the mean by each occupational status for many of the characteristics. Where these differences in variance seem important in interpreting the means presented, we will point them out.

The socio-economic status index shown in the first column of Table 4-7 is based upon the distribution of income and education by occupation for the U.S. labor force. Assigning the specific code derived nationally to each first job in our sample, we are able to compare the ranking by mean SEI with the rankings by mean years of school completed and mean weekly pay in constant dollars shown in the next two columns. Several discrepancies in ranking are apparent. Education seems to be less rewarded among Mexican-American males first employed in white-collar clerical and sales and service occupations than one would expect by the national ranking of these occupations. While clerical and sales and service ranked second and third respectively in the mean years of school completed, they ranked third and seventh in pay. Although Mexican-American service workers had, on the average, as much education as craftsmen and foremen, they make only three-fourths as much money

Table 4-7

FIRST JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY OCCUPATION BY SELECTED AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS

First Job by Occupation	Maximum No.	Mean Socio-Econ. Status Index[1]	Average Characteristics							
			Mean Education Sch. Yrs. Completed	Mean Wkly. Pay	Mean Hrs./Week	Mean Yrs. in Migrant Stream	Mean Job-Shifts Index[3]	Mean Dur. 1st Mich. Job	Mean Dur. All Jobs	Median Year Arrived
Professional, Technical, Manager, Proprietor	11	66	16.1	130	34.5	.3	.28	7.3	3.8	1950
Clerical, Sales	12	41	12.3	82	41.5	.2	.29	3.4	3.3	1946
Craftsmen, Foremen	36	22	7.4	88	41.5	3.5	.26	7.2	4.5	1954
Drivers, Operatives	308	18	6.3	81	42.8	3.1	.29	5.7	4.5	1950
Service	41	12	7.5	57	42.6	3.5	.41	2.2	3.4	1953
Laborer	128	8	6.8	73	40.1	3.4	.37	2.4	3.7	1952
Farm Laborers	85	6	4.3	62	47.0	4.9	.26	3.3	4.8	1949

[1] Coded using the index developed by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *et al.*, in *Occupations and Social Status*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Appendix B.

[2] Pay is given in 1959 dollar equivalents.

[3] Index derived by dividing the total number of changes of jobs by the total number of years in the labor force.

each week, ranking last in pay, even below farm laborers. (They are ahead of farm laborers, however, on a per hour basis but still far below nonfarm laborers even taking into account the mean hours worked.)

1. We must conclude, therefore, that in respect to their first jobs in Michigan, Mexican-Americans are found in the lower levels of clerical, sales and service occupations at pay incommensurate with their educational achievement in comparison with that received by operatives and laborers in industry.

It is interesting that the Mexican-American driver or operative had, on the average, somewhat less education than laborers and only half that of clerical and sales workers whose mean wages he nearly equals, even considering that he works another hour or so more per week than they do.

2. The mean number of years in the migrant stream tends to decline with an increase in occupational status and education. Only 5 of the 23 workers in the top two categories have any migrant farm labor experience at all. Somewhat more than 40 percent of the craftsmen and foremen have, whereas about 60 percent of the workers in the last three occupations have participated for some period of time in the migrant stream.

3. There appears to be little variation in the mean jobshift index with the exception of those workers who had first jobs as service and nonfarm laborers. Over their full working careers up to the time of the interview, these workers showed a much greater tendency to change jobs. We shall see later whether these more frequent changes resulted in occupational and income mobility.

4. With the dramatic exception of clerical and sales workers, the higher the occupational status, the greater the mean duration of the first job in Michigan. Considering the incongruity of education and wages with

occupational status, it is not surprising that those who found first jobs as clerical or sales workers tended to keep them little longer than those beginning their Michigan work histories as farm laborers. First jobs in service would be expected to be even less enduring because of the very low pay and disproportionate educational attainment of many workers. On the other hand, jobs as craftsmen and operatives are for many in-migrants their final target jobs. Those who achieve this level immediately upon settling tend to hold their first jobs much longer. The same is often true of local labor force entrants as well.

5. The hypothesis of craft and operative jobs as target jobs is corroborated by the fact that the mean duration of all jobs held during the workers labor force history tends to be highest for those having first jobs in these occupations. The fact that those beginning in Michigan as farm laborers have even higher job stability over their working careers can be explained by their relative immobility in the labor market due largely to their extremely low educational level.

6. The median year arrived is present for each occupation for those workers who migrated to Michigan. This statistic gives us some idea of the changing distribution of first jobs over time. Clearly first jobs in clerical and sales and farm labor jobs were more characteristic of early in-migrants. Fewer more recent migrants obtained first jobs in these occupations. In contrast, service jobs are entry points for more recent migrants as are the crafts.

(3) The First Job in Michigan by Industry

Industrial distribution of first jobs by migrant status. While we found some differences in first occupations in Michigan between those resettling and those joining the labor force for the first time who were born and/or raised there, we find in Table 4-8 no important differences in the allocation of first jobs by industry. There is a tendency for sales and services jobs to be entry jobs for young local Michigan beginning workers to a greater degree than for in-migrants, and a slightly lesser tendency for these local workers to begin in construction or metals.

Table 4-8

FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY INDUSTRY BY MIGRANT STATUS

Industry	First Job In-Migrant %	 Michigan Born and/or Raised %	Present or Last Job All Males %
Agriculture	15.6	16.9	3.8
Construction	12.9	10.8	7.0
Metals	20.8	17.2	23.8
Durables	5.9	6.6	7.0
Non-Durables	12.2	12.3	7.7
Motor Vehicles	19.7	18.0	36.7
Transportation and Utilities	2.7	2.6	2.1
Sales	4.5	7.2	3.8
Services	5.0	7.4	8.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	439	176	610

As was the case regarding occupations, it is clear that substantial shifts take place following the first jobs, chiefly in the direction of the motor vehicle industry and out of agriculture, non-durable manufacturing and sales. Metal fabrication remains strong, gaining slightly in proportion of workers employed.

Average characteristics of workers by industry of first jobs. Table 4-10 reveals much less congruity of socio-economic status, educational attainment, and wage levels among jobs by industry than by occupation. While the industries, with the exception of a reversal between construction and metals, are ranked by increasing mean years of school completed, the rankings by SEI and weekly pay differ greatly from this as shown below in Table 4-9.

Table 4-9

FIRST JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY INDUSTRY BY RANK-ORDER OF MEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION, AND PAY

First Job by Industry	Rank-Orders SEI	Education	Weekly Pay
Agriculture	9	10	8
Construction	7	8	1
Metals	4	9	2
Durables	5	7	6
Non-Durables	6	6	7
Motor Vehicles	2	5	4
Transportation, Utilities	8	4	5
Sales	3	3	10
Services	4	2	9
Educational and Professional Services	1	1	3

1. Notably those two industries, construction and metals, having the workers of lowest average educational attainment except agriculture pay the highest weekly wages, while workers in the second and third ranked

Table 4-10

FIRST JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY INDUSTRY BY SELECTED AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS

			Average Characteristics							
First Job By Industry	Maximum No.	Mean Socio-Econ. Status Index[1]	Mean Education Sch. Yrs. Completed	Mean Wkly. Pay	Mean Hrs./Week	Mean Yrs. in Migrant Stream	Mean Job-Shifts Index[3]	Mean Dur. 1st Mich. Job	Mean Dur. All Jobs	Median Year Arrived
Agriculture	106	7	4.8	60	47	4.8	.29	3.0	4.4	1950
Construction	67	9	6.2	97	41	4.5	.30	2.9	3.9	1955
Metals	104	18	5.8	91	42	3.8	.26	6.4	4.8	1946
Durables	40	16	6.3	73	42	3.1	.36	3.9	4.0	1952
Non-Durables	76	15	6.3	67	44	3.4	.36	3.2	3.5	1953
Motor Vehicles	110	22	6.5	87	42	3.3	.20	9.0	5.9	1947
Transportation, and Utilities	16	8	7.1	76	42	1.3	.26	4.0	4.6	1944
Sales	45	20	9.4	54	41	.8	.53	1.6	2.4	1952
Services	45	18	9.6	55	40	1.5	.44	1.7	2.8	1949
Educational and Professional Services	6	48	13.5	90	40	.8	.28	4.9	3.9	1948

[1] Coded using the index developed by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *et al.*, in *Occupations and Social Status*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Appendix B.

[2] Pay is given in 1959 dollar equivalents.

[3] Index derived by dividing the total number of changes of jobs by the total number of years in the labor force.

industries by education, sales and services, receive the lowest wages. With the exception of those few in educational and professional services, it is clear there is an inverse relation between the income derived from first jobs in Michigan and the educational attainment of the average worker. It is possible that younger local workers who have much higher education than the in-migrants are finding first jobs in sales and services in the hopes of moving up within these industries and to avoid factory work despite its higher pay. This will bear further investigation. It should be noted that there is a fairly high congruency between educational attainment and pay for all manufacturing except metal fabrication. It will be interesting to see below whether the anomalous relationship observed with respect to first jobs persists in present jobs.

2. Hours of work per week does not differ greatly by industry except for agriculture and non-durable manufacturing which includes a relatively large proportion of food processing workers, especially among those holding first jobs in Michigan in this industrial category.

3. As in the case of occupations, we find the mean years in the migrant farm labor stream for workers in each industry to correspond closely to the mean educational level. The percent of workers in each industry who have had some migratory farm labor experience is similar. With the exception of those in services and educational and professional services in which only 30 percent have spent any time in the migrant stream, at least 50 percent in all other industries have done so. In agriculture and construction and, surprisingly, sales, 60 percent of the workers came out of the migrant stream to take their first jobs in these industries. Seventy percent of those finding their first jobs in metal fabrication had migrant farm labor jobs

previously for some period of time which makes the low level of education among workers in metals more understandable.

4. Those who were employed first in Michigan in sales and services have had a much greater propensity to change jobs during their working careers. Second to these workers in job shifting are those in durable and non-durable manufacturing. Workers who obtained first jobs in the motor vehicles industry have the lowest rate of job changing.

5. As would be expected, those workers who obtained employment in motor vehicles upon arrival in Michigan or as their first job in the labor force if born and/or raised there tended to keep it nine years, much longer than those finding employment in any other industries. Only in metals is there nearly the same tendency to retain the first job. Considering that pay is highest among first jobs in construction, it is remarkable that jobs in this industry are kept only on the average for three years, the same length as those in agriculture, the lowest paying industry when hours worked per week are considered.

6. The mean durations of all jobs held by the workers by the time of the interview correspond fairly closely in rank by industry to the mean durations of the first job.

7. An inspection of the median year of arrival in Michigan for each industry of first employment again, as in the case of first occupations, suggests shifting allocation of new workers over time. Transportation and utilities, metal fabrication and motor vehicle manufacturing have very high proportions of early arrivers who obtained their first jobs in them. These were predominantly the first jobs of those arriving during World War II shortage of labor in war industry. In contrast, sales, durable and non-durable manufacturing and, especially, construction provided first jobs for a larger proportion of later in-migrants.

3. The Present or Last Job in Michigan

In Chapter 5, we will analyze the intra-generational mobility occurring between the first job in Michigan and the present or last job as well as the inter-generational mobility occurring between our respondents and their fathers. Here we will simply look at selected characteristics of present or last jobs by occupation and industry much as we did first jobs in the foregoing section. Before doing so, however, let us consider how occupations are distributed among the industries we have been discussing.

(1) Occupational Distribution by Industry.

Table 4-11 presents the occupational distribution within each industry. The most striking feature of the table is the almost total absence in manufacturing industries of managerial, technical and clerical personnel and the small proportion of craftsmen and foremen. Even construction has twice as many laborers as craftsmen among its Mexican-American employees. The greatest diversification of occupation is found in sales and services.

A few industries account for the overwhelming majority of workers at each occupational level. Thus two-thirds of the laborers are found in construction work, there being few, if any, positions for laborers in manufacturing. Metal fabrication and motor vehicles account jointly for three-fourths of the employment of operatives. One-third of all craftsmen and foremen are employed in construction and somewhat more than one-fourth are found in motor vehicle manufacture. Interestingly, nearly half of all those workers whose jobs are classified as clerical and sales are employed by motor vehicle firms although this occupational status comprises less than three percent of the Mexican-American employment in automobiles. Somewhat more than one-third of the clerical and sales workers have jobs in the sales industry.

Table 4-11

PRESENT OCCUPATION BY PRESENT INDUSTRY

Present Occupation	Present Industry Agri- culture %	Const. %	Metals %	Durables %	Non- Durables %	Motor Vehicles %	Trans. Utilities %	Sales %	Services %	Educa- tional Profes- sional %
Prof., Tech., Managerial	8.3	7.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.4	0.0	33.3	23.3	50.0
Clerical, Sales	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	2.7	0.0	20.8	3.3	0.0
Craftsmen	0.0	32.6	20.3	11.4	6.4	10.7	15.4	12.5	23.3	0.0
Operatives	0.0	0.0	78.4	72.7	80.9	84.0	30.8	0.6	23.3	10.0
Service	0.0	0.0	1.4	13.6	4.3	2.2	7.7	12.5	23.3	40.0
Farm Laborer	83.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Laborer	8.3	60.5	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	46.2	4.2	3.3	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N (618)	24	43	148	44	47	255	13	24	30	20

(2) The Present or Last Job in Michigan by Occupation

Average characteristics of present occupations compared. We raised the question in the last section of whether the incongruities in education, pay, and occupational status of first jobs in Michigan tended to be reduced as job shifts took place after settlement or subsequent to the first job in the labor force. Table 4-13 suggests that there is, indeed, a strain toward congruency over the working career in Michigan. It should be remembered during the following discussion that 107 workers, or 17 percent of the total, had not changed jobs between the times of settlement and of the interview, or had simply retired from their first job in Michigan in which case their first job was also their last-held job. Thus about one-sixth of the jobs in the first job distribution appear again in the present or last job distribution. Any

Table 4-12

FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS BY OCCUPATION BY RANK-ORDER OF MEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION, AND PAY

Occupation	Rank-Orders				
	SEI	Education		Weekly Pay	
		First	Present	First	Present
Professional, Tech., Manager	1	1	1	1	1
Clerical, Sales	2	2	2	3	2
Craftsmen Foremen	3	4	3	2	3
Operative	4	6	4	4	4
Service	5	3	6	7	6
Laborer	6	5	5	5	5
Farm Laborer	7	7	7	6	7

Table 4-13

PRESENT OR LAST JOBS BY OCCUPATION BY SELECTED AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS

				Average Characteristics							
Present Occupation	Maximum No.	Mean SEI[1]	Mean Education Sch. Yrs. Completed	Mean Wkly. Pay[2]	Mean Hrs./ Week	Mean Age at Start	Mean Yrs. in Migrant Stream	Mean Job-Shifts Index[3]	Mean Dur. Present Job	Mean Dur. All Jobs	Median Year Arrived
Professional, Technical, Manager, Proprietor	33	57	11.2	159	47	34.6	1.9	.28	7.6	4.0	1943
Clerical, Sales	13	40	10.5	123	41	31.5	.8	.30	7.0	3.5	1946
Craftsmen, Foremen	88	30	7.3	121	42	33.3	2.9	.31	7.8	3.8	1951
Operatives	393	19	6.4	99	41	31.7	3.0	.32	9.3	4.3	1950
Service	34	12	4.2	79	42	45.6	4.9	.25	7.3	5.3	1947
Laborer	40	8	5.2	104	41	33.8	5.1	.40	5.6	4.4	1955
Farm Laborer	20	7	3.8	61	43	34.6	8.7	.25	4.9	3.7	1961

[1] Coded using the index developed by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *et al.*, in *Occupations and Social Status*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Appendix B.

[2] Pay is given in 1959 dollar equivalents.

[3] Index derived by dividing the total number of changes of jobs by the total number of years in the labor force.

movement toward congruency had to occur among five-sixths of the workers. Table 4-12 shows the ranking of occupations, listed in descending order of mean socio-economic status of workers in each (which was the same for first and present jobs), on education and pay for first and present or last jobs. The greatest discrepancy between education and pay in first jobs occurred among service workers. Apparently the better educated workers who were first employed in low paying service jobs moved on to better paying jobs in other occupations. The educational levels among craftsmen and foremen and operatives rose to those of the pay between the first and present jobs.

1. Overall, then we find that if there were not a reversal of the ranks of laborers and service workers relative to SEI, there would be a perfect correlation between the rankings on socio-economic status, education and pay (in constant dollars), of present or last-held occupations.

2. The mean numbers of hours worked per week do not differ greatly by occupation except for those in professional, technical, managerial or proprietary work. These respondents work, on the average, in their present jobs about 75 percent more hours per week than did those similarly employed in their first jobs (47 hours in present jobs compared with 34.5 in first jobs). On the other hand, those having first jobs in farm labor worked, on the average, 47 hours while those so employed at the time of the survey averaged only 43 hours per week.

3. The mean number of years in the migrant farm labor stream is nearly the same or higher in the present or last occupation compared to the first. It has increased especially in the top two categories and the bottom three. As discussed in the next chapter, this suggests that occupational mobility is inversely related to years in the migratory stream.

4. With the exception of laborers, there does not appear to be much difference among present occupations in the tendency of workers to change jobs over their working careers. Nor are there very great differences in the mean job shift indices between those of workers having first jobs in each occupation and those presently employed in them with the exception of those presently in service jobs who seem to be much less frequent job changers than those who obtained first jobs as service workers.

5. In all occupations, workers have held their present jobs or held their last jobs before retirement more years, on the average, than workers did their first jobs on entering the labor force or settling in Michigan. The mean durations of first and present jobs in professional et al. and craftsmen-foremen occupations are about the same. However, clerical and sales and service workers and laborers have held their present jobs more than twice the duration of those first employed in these occupations. Those in operative or farm laborer jobs had held them about one-third longer than those holding them as first jobs.

In respect to the mean durations of all jobs held by workers presently employed in each occupation, there appears to be little variation except for service workers who have tended to keep fewer jobs longer than those in any other occupation.

6. Considering the median year of arrival of in-migrants for each occupation, we find that the lowest two categories, laborer and farm laborer, have the highest proportion of recent arrivals, whereas among those presently or last employed as professional et al., clerical and sales, and service workers at least half resettled in Michigan before 1947. Half those employed as craftsmen, foremen or operatives came before 1950-51 and half after.

With the exception of clerical and sales and operatives, for which occupations there is no difference, the differences in the median year of arrival for in-migrants by first and present or last jobs are considerable. Most striking is that of farm laborers. Whereas this is the occupation having the highest proportion of very recent in-migrants, half of those who obtained first jobs as farm workers came to Michigan to settle before 1949. This is explainable by reference to the fact that farm labor is a highly temporary job for those who cannot find any other kind of employment because of its low wages and long hours. Thus more recent in-migrants will be found among those few workers holding present jobs in agriculture. The same is true to a more limited degree of laborers. The earlier median year of arrival for those holding present or last jobs in professional, et al., craftsmen-foremen, and service categories compared to those finding first jobs in these occupations requires somewhat different explanations for each occupation. Because of low wages, service jobs tend to be entry jobs for younger workers or jobs taken by older workers as a last resort. In the case of our sample, the extremely high mean age at the beginning of service jobs presently or last held and the relatively low rate of job change of these workers suggests the latter to be predominantly the case. The more recently arrived workers who took service jobs as their first in Michigan have moved up to better jobs.

The reason for the earlier median year of arrival for present professionals, et al. and craftsmen and foremen is the same. Those who receive first jobs in these occupations are already qualified but as time goes by other in-migrants who arrived earlier in many cases become qualified and move into these occupations thereby lowering the median year of arrival for each occupation. I noted earlier, few, if any in-migrants qualify for first jobs as foremen. As they gain experience and seniority they may be promoted to foreman positions. Similarly, workers may become certified craftsmen following a period of apprenticeship or job training. The increase in the number of workers in the highest occupational category and the lowering of the median year of arrival from 1950 for those having held first jobs to 1943 for those presently employed in the category is explained chiefly by the increase of proprietorships among earlier in-migrants rather than by the mobility of workers from other occupations who become qualified for professional or technical jobs. There are a few such cases, however. These are typically former manual workers who have moved into social service-type jobs in public and private agencies.

7. The mean ages of workers at the beginning of their present or last-held jobs vary only slightly among the occupational categories, being all in the range of 31.5 to 34.6, with the exception of service workers previously noted who were as least 10 years older, on the average, when last hired, their means age being 45.6 years.

(3) Present or Last Job in Michigan by Industry

Average characteristics of present jobs by industry compared. We noted above in discussing the characteristics of first jobs that there were more and greater discrepancies between socio-economic status, education and weekly pay among first jobs by industry than by occupation. We have just seen that among occupations the inconsistencies found among first jobs have been greatly reduced among present or last held jobs. Is the same strain toward consistency apparent with respect to differences in average characteristics by present or last job by industry?

Contrasting the rank-orders of mean SEI, education and weekly pay for first jobs presented in Table 4-9 on page 4-30 with those of the present or last jobs shown in Table 4-14, we are led to answer yes although several important discrepancies rema[illegible] notably between education and pay in construction and services. The differences in rank-orders among these measures of status have declined by about half between first and present jobs. The pay of those employed in sales has shifted from the tenth rank among first jobs to third among present jobs, a position nearly congruent with the mean educational levels in both first and present jobs. Since persons presently employed in sales average more hours per week than those in any other industry, the wages per hour are closer to those of the fourth-ranked industry, motor vehicles, but the ranking is unchanged.

Table 4-14

PRESENT OR LAST JOBS BY INDUSTRY BY RANK-ORDER OF MEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION AND PAY

Present Industry	Rank-Orders SEI	 Education	 Weekly Pay
Agriculture	9	9	10
Construction	8	7	2
Metals	6	6	6
Durables	5	8	7
Non-Durables	6	6	9
Motor Vehicles	4	4	4
Transportation and Utilities	7	5	5
Sales	2	2	3
Services	3	3	8
Educational and Professional	1	1	1

Table 4-15

PRESENT OR LAST JOBS BY INDUSTRY BY SELECTED AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS

				Average Characteristics							
Present Industry	Maximum No.	Mean SEI[1]	Mean Education Sch. Yrs. Completed	Mean Wkly. Pay[2]	Mean Hrs./ Week	Mean Age at Start	Mean Yrs. in Migrant Stream	Mean Job-Shifts Index[3]	Mean Dur. Present Job	Mean Dur. All Jobs	Median Year Arrived
Agriculture	24	8	3.9	61	43	35.9	8.2	.24	5.0	4.2	1961
Construction	43	16	5.8	127	41	32.7	4.4	.37	5.7	3.8	1955
Metals	148	19	5.9	103	41	32.3	3.0	.32	10.2	4.3	1947
Durables	44	21	4.7	94	41	37.3	6.0	.27	8.8	4.2	1949
Non-Durables	46	19	5.9	82	43	34.2	3.9	.28	6.5	4.4	1953
Mo Motor Vehicles	225	23	7.3	106	42	30.7	2.6	.31	9.5	4.5	1950
Transportation Utilities	13	18	7.2	105	41	35.4	3.6	.31	6.3	3.9	1948
Sales	24	36	8.2	123	46	36.1	1.4	.36	4.2	3.9	1948
Services	29	24	8.0	92	43	34.3	1.5	.33	9.0	3.8	1946
Educational and Professional	21	42	10.0	133	41	41.8	2.2	.38	4.0	3.2	1946

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[1] Coded using the index developed by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *et al.*, in *Occupations and Social Status*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Appendix B.

[2] Pay is given in 1959 dollar equivalents.

[3] Index derived by dividing the total number of changes of jobs by the total number of years in the labor force.

1. Were construction and services to exchange ranks on either education or pay, there would be no important differences among rankings of industries of present jobs by mean SEI, education and pay.

2. The industries in which respondents worked the longest hours, on the average, are those that have the lowest mean pay per week, except for sales. Thus, if we consider per hour pay, the wages in service, non-durable manufacturing, and agriculture are even lower relative to those of other industries. Only in sales do much longer hours per week result in an important rise in weekly wages. It is notable, however, that the mean hours per week worked in agriculture in present jobs is significantly lower than that of first jobs.

3. The differences in the mean years in the migrant farm labor stream for workers in various industries between first and present jobs shown in Table 4-16 indicate some shifting of workers having varying amounts of experience. Among the first jobs, industries can be readily classified into three groupings on this variable. Agriculture, construction, and metal fabrication have the highest means, durable, non-durable and motor vehicle manufacturing have intermediary means and transportation and utilities, sales, service, and educational and professional service have the lowest means. Industries of present jobs cannot be so easily grouped. Agriculture is now much higher than any other in the amount of migratory experience represented. While construction is about the same, metals is lower. In manufacturing, mean experience in the stream in durables is double in present job what it is in first jobs. In non-durables it is slightly higher and in motor vehicles, lower. It is much higher in transportation and utilities and in educational and professional services, while the same in other services. In this regard, it should be

remembered from Table 4-11 that 40 percent of those classified as working in educational and professional services are fairly low-level service workers, not professional or technicians.

Table 4-16

FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS BY INDUSTRY BY PERCENT OF WORKERS HAVING MIGRATORY FARM LABOR EXPERIENCE AND MEAN YEARS IN THE STREAM

	Total Number		Mean Years in Stream		Percent Migrant	
	First	Present	First	Present	First	Present
Agriculture	106	24	4.8	8.2	59	62
Construction	67	43	4.5	4.4	58	65
Metals	105	148	3.8	3.0	69	64
Durables	40	44	3.1	6.0	50	66
Non-Durables	76	47	3.4	3.9	50	49
Motor Vehicles	110	225	3.3	2.6	53	47
Transportation and Utilities	16	13	1.3	3.6	62	77
Sales	46	24	0.8	1.4	59	50
Services	45	29	1.5	1.5	31	53
Educational Professional Services	6	21	0.8	2.2	33	50

When we consider the percent in each industry having had some migratory farm labor experience as well as the mean amount of such experience, several additional shifts are apparent. Those who have changed from first jobs in agriculture to present jobs in other industries are primarily workers having had somewhat less migratory experience than those presently employed since the mean years in the stream is much greater for those now in agriculture.

Comparing first and present jobs, we see that in present jobs the percent having some migratory experience is considerably higher in five of the nine non-agricultural industries and nearly the same or only slightly lower in the other four. There has apparently been a shift of out of services after the first job by many of those having no migratory experience, leaving a higher proportion of the smaller number presently in this industry who have such background. The reverse seems to be the case in educational and professional services where the larger number now employed has a higher proportion of ex-migratory farm laborers. It is interesting to note that while agriculture has twice as many mean years of migratory experience represented among its present employees as any other industry, four industries have a higher percent of workers having spent some time in the stream.

4. The range of the variability of the mean job shift index for present or last jobs by industry (from a low of .24 in agriculture to a high of .38 for educational and professional services) is narrower than that for first jobs (from a low of .20 for motor vehicle workers to a high of .53 for sales workers). No longer are the most frequent job changers concentrated in sales and services. Neither are there so many highly mobile workers in durable and non-durable manufacturing as in the case of first jobs. Apparently the more mobile workers moved out of first jobs in agriculture leaving the less mobile.

5. Considering that the majority of workers interviewed were adult migrants into Michigan, the mean tenure of present or last job held is remarkably high. Nearly three-quarters (72.3%) of the workers have held their present or last jobs for approximately nine years or more. With the exception of service workers, those holding their job longest, on the average, are found

in manufacturing, especially in metal fabrication, motor vehicles and durables. While the average worker whose first job was in services held it only 1.7 years, the worker presently or last employed in a service job has nine years of continuous employment on the average. Workers in all industries have held their present jobs longer than those workers first employed in the same industries. Similarly, they have held their present or last jobs longer than the mean duration for all jobs held during their working careers since 16 years of age.

6. Regarding median year of arrival, we find that those presently or last employed in agriculture were the most recent in-migrants. Construction and non-durables rank next in the proportion of recent arrivals. Metal fabrication and sales and services, including educational and professional services have the highest proportion of earlier in-migrants.

7. The mean age at the time of hiring in the present or last-held job was youngest for motor vehicle workers (30.7), one or two years older for those in metals and construction (32.3 and 32.7), and in the mid-30's for all other industries except for educational and professional services whose workers averaged nearly 42 at the beginning of their present or last jobs.

Pay and hours by industry of Mexican-American workers compared with all Michigan workers. Having discussed similarities and differences by industry among Mexican-American workers in our sample, we need to compare these workers with all workers in Michigan to assess their present relative position in the Michigan labor force. Table 17 offers two bases for such comparison. First we may compare our respondents with all employees in their counties, then with all of those in Michigan. The temporal matching of statistics is close but not perfect so that some discrepancies may be due to the time of year for which statistics are presented.

TABLE 4-17

MEAN WEEKLY PAY AND HOURS BY INDUSTRY FOR THE SAMPLE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE WORKERS, TOTAL EMPLOYEES IN SAMPLED COUNTIES AND TOTAL EMPLOYEES IN MICHIGAN IN 1967

Industry	Mexican-American Sample (Males)[1]		Total Employees 6-8 Sample Counties[2]	Total Employees Michigan	
	Pay	Hours	Pay	Pay[2]	Hours[3]
Agriculture	76.60	43.4	65.44	79.05	
Construction	150.15	40.5	132.37	150.55	41.8
Metals	121.74	41.3	140.63	139.76	41.5
Durables	113.33	40.7	137.94	155.20	40.9
Non-Durables	98.61	42.4			41.4
Motor Vehicles	128.17	41.8	158.70	159.77	39.0
Transportation and utilities	124.62	40.6	133.16	141.88	
Sales	145.35	45.5	81.07	91.68	46.5 Wholesale 35.6 Retail
Services	110.00	43.3			
Educational and professional services	162.50	41.3	69.43	82.39	
Mean of Total	124.35		112.55	126.89	

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[1] Based on pay and hours of 594 males employed at the time of the interview (November 1967 - January 1968).

[2] Based on first quarter 1967 data from County Business Patterns 1967, Michigan, Bureau of Census, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1968.

[3] Based on November 1967 data from Michigan Manpower Review, Vol. XXII, No. 12 (December, 1967).

In agriculture, construction, sales and service, Mexican-American male workers appear to be making somewhat more each week, on the average, than all workers in their counties of residence. It is important to note here, however, that by excluding Mexican-American females while including them in the total workers, we have biased pay in favor of our sample, since females, especially in sales and services, tend to reduce the mean because of their lower wages. In contrast, in all manufacturing, Mexican-American male workers make less than all employees in their counties. The same relative position holds in comparison with the state labor force as a whole in manufacturing, sales and services but mean wages in agriculture and construction are about the same for Mexican-American males and all employees in Michigan.

In respect to hours in industries for which data permit comparison, there does not appear to be any major discrepancy although Mexican-Americans worked somewhat more hours per week in construction and sales and fewer in motor vehicles than did all employees in Michigan in these industries.

The work situation. About two-thirds (63%) of those persons interviewed said that they are within 15 minutes or less traveling time from the place at which they presently work or had worked in the recent past before retirement. Three-fourths drive their own cars to work, although about 10 percent are near enough to walk to work. Little use seems to be made of public transportation in getting to work; only about 3 percent report using a bus. About 12 percent do, however, go to work with someone else in a car.

While slightly more than half (51%) of Mexican American family heads in the Michigan counties sampled work in plants having more than 1,000 employees, about a third (35%) work at places having 100 or fewer employees. However, 61% have 25 or fewer fellow workers in their sections or departments. More than one-third (37%) work with 10 or fewer other workers.

In general the working situation involves contact with other Mexican Americans. Only one of five workers does not have one or more Mexican American friends at his place of employment.

Union membership and participation. In their present or last job three-fourths of those sampled are or were union members. Of course, the majority are UAW members (60%), while 30 percent are members of other industrial unions. Only seven percent are members of craft unions.

Although nearly one-third reported almost never attending union meetings, more than half (53%) do so occasionally, and 15 percent claimed they attend almost always.

Present part-time jobs. Almost fewer than one of 20 respondents (6%) presently employed have or have had a second part-time job in addition to their present job. More than one-third (38%) of those doing work part-time do so in seasonal agricultural labor. The next most frequent part-time jobs are laborer except farm (16%) and other service worker (14%). Nearly half the part-time employment (46%) is in agriculture. It is clear that a second part-time job is not a major source of supplementary income for Mexican American families in Michigan. It will be of interest only to the degree to which part-time seasonal agricultural labor represents a complementary employment pattern for a proportionately small number of Mexican Americans. It may be the case that in absolute numbers this employment is of some importance in filling seasonal farm labor demand. Indeed, although it involves fewer than one in 40 of settled Mexican American family heads, this input of labor may be much more significant as a proportion of seasonal labor available to farmers. In addition, those family heads who supplement their regular jobs by returning to the fields on a part-time basis during lay-offs, vacation or holidays and weekends bring two or three times their numbers in accompanying family members.

Part-time work experience. Although few workers (6%) were found to have part-time jobs in addition to their regular jobs at the time of the interview, more than four times this proportion (26%) reported having had a second part-time job since living in Michigan. Of those never having a second job, 11 percent said they had, at one time or another, looked for such a job.

Additional skills. When asked what other skills they had or other kinds of work they could do aside from the tasks performed on their main job, the respondents' replies were numerous and extraordinarily varied. Only slightly more than one- quarter (27%) failed to mention at least one skill. Of those reporting skills, one-third each reported one, two and three or more. When asked how many of these skills were ones for which they had received pay, well over half (59%) reported having been paid for one or more, and one-third claimed using two or more for gaining income.

The most often-mentioned skills in order of frequency were carpenter, mechanic, house painter, plumber, welder, cook, truck driver, brick layer or mason or cement worker, electrician, radio and TV repair, sewing, musician and barber.

4. The Transition From Field to Factory

As originally conceived, this study would have involved two contrasting surveys. One would have concerned migrants now in the stream, interviewed in the farm labor camps; the other, Mexican-American year-round residents in Michigan communities. The first survey was precluded by sampling, access, and cost problems; the second was completed and is the basis of this report. There was, however, a small-scale survey of migrant workers in the camps carried out in cooperation with this project during the summer of 1967. It was added to a study initiated by the late Dr. James R. Hundley and completed by three of his students.[1] The survey collected 132 interviews with Mexican-American migratory farm laborers. While the findings are not as reliable from a sampling point of view as those of the present study, several are of interest as we begin to look specifically at the transition from migratory-agricultural work to settled urban-industrial employment.

(1) Migrants in the Field and the Desire to Settle.

The age structure of the Michigan Mexican-American migratory farm labor force, as revealed by the 1967 Hundley camp survey, indicates that settling out and finding urban-industrial jobs will be quite difficult for the majority of workers for well over half (60.4%) are over 40 years of age while one-fourth are over 50. This is clearly a middle-aged work force. Given the rigors of farm labor, especially stoop labor, it is quite probable that many of those presently working have but few years left in which to perform migrant work. It may well be the case that most migrant workers who have the desire to settle out have already done so and that the remaining workers include a large proportion who are trapped, being too old to find industrial employment.

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[1] The unpublished report "A Study of Interpersonal Relations Among Managers and Employees of Fruit and Vegetable Farms with Emphasis on Labor Management Practices Utilized," Rural Manpower Center and Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1967, was completed by Charles W. Given, William E. Vredevoogd, and Maurice E. Voland. Divergence of the distribution of variables such as age in this sample suggests that it may be a "pocket" sample and not truly representative of even Michigan migrants. Nonetheless, since the timing and location do produce findings highly relevant to the larger survey of settled migrants, it seems worth examining them, albeit with caution.

While nearly half (43.3%) of the Mexican-American migrant workers interviewed in the Hundley survey were born in towns of 10,000 people or less, an equal proportion came from cities of 25,000 or more. Interestingly, Mexican-American migrants were much more likely to have been born in larger communities than either Negro or white workers interviewed in this survey. Ninety-six percent of the Mexican-American migrants were born in Texas (65.7%) or Mexico (30.6%). Of those born in Texas, 43 percent came from the Rio Grande valley.

Three-fourths of the Mexican-American migrants surveyed in the camps in 1967 had completed no more than the sixth grade and only six percent had some high school. This compares very unfavorably with the Negro and white migrants, more than half of whom had more than six years of education with about one-fourth (27.7%) of the Negro and one-fifth (17.4%) of the Whites having had some high school. Over 38 percent of the Mexican-American migrant workers had begun farm work by the age of 14, but 31 percent did so between 15 and 29 years of age and an equal percent did so after 30.

Eighty-five percent of the Mexican-American migrants were married. Seventy-one percent of the respondents had four or more children and a remarkable 37 percent had seven or more children in their families. Mexican-Americans had considerably more children working with them than either Negro or White migrants. Over half of the Mexican-American respondents had four or more children working with them in the fields. It was not uncommon to find three generations from one family working on the same farm. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of the respondents reported having relatives working with them.

Over 65 percent of the Mexican-American migratory workers travel to Michigan as members of a crew organized and usually supervised in the field by a crew leader. The more frequent of familial organization of the work group and presence of a crew leader among Mexican-American workers makes them much preferred to the more often single or unorganized Negro or white workers. In nearly 60 percent of the cases, the crew leader pays the travel expenses for the Mexican-American migrants, making them dependent upon him for travel and funds and indebted to him at the end of the season. This is important to remember as we discuss settling out. Not only does the migrant typically have a financial obligation to his crew leader but this is often reinforced by non-economic ties to him. Almost 75 percent of the Mexican-American workers are invited to join a specific crew. The crew leader is accorded a high status position in the town of origin. Usually he personally recruits those he wants to join his crew for the season through familial networks with the result that many families are related in some way to the crew leader.

Not only is indebtedness to the crew leader a constraint against dropping out. Sixty-eight percent of the Mexican-Americans interviewed own or are buying their houses in the towns of origin. This is double the percent among Negro and white workers interviewed.

The low level of literacy in English among Mexican-American migrants suggests another major constraint against leaving the stream for resettlement in a Midwestern community. Only 22 percent of the Mexican-American migrants interviewed by Hundley's students in the fields in the summer of 1967 were literate in English although 75 percent were literate in Spanish. Only three percent were literate in neither language.

Since we were interested in the variables related to desire and information relevant to settling among migrants in the field, we included in the camp survey questions regarding the nature and extent of the migrants contacts in nearby communities while located in the camps. In general, we found that migrants have extremely limited contacts outside the camps. In most cases, migrant workers tend to participate in recreational activities, to the extent that time and energy permits after a grueling day's work, with relatives or other residents of their own camp. Few migrants have extensive contacts with nearby communities or with migrants in other camps in the area. Since most migrants move to another area within three weeks, they have little opportunity to develop meaningful social contacts in the area. In the few cases in which migrants do have contacts outside their crew or set of relatives in the camps, these are more often with the farmer's hired man than with the farmer or people in the local communities. The low rate of participation with members of the community is paralleled by an equally low rate of contact with local agenices. The highest frequency of such contact is with local doctors and hospitals, as might be expected. Respondents indicated only limited contact with religious, political and labor organizations designed to assist migrants. These data indicate a general isolation of the migrants from an meaningful associations in the community, with the possible exception of friends or relatives who may reside there. This in spite of the fact that 60 percent of the respondents were spending at least their second season on the farm where they were interviewed.

What factors are related to a stated desire to settle out of the stream and obtain non-farm employment? The greater the migrant's exposure to non-farm employment, the greater was his propensity to seek such employment. This was indicated by the fact that the larger the hometown of origin, the higher was the proportion of respondents who expressed a desire for non-farm employment. Additionally, it was found that the desire for non-farm employment was significantly greater among those who held non-farm jobs in the winter in places of origin. As time spent during the winter in non-farm employment increases, desire to continue in it also increases. Thus, it appears that some measure of familiarity with a non-farm occupation is important in motivating a worker to continue it even to the extent of changing residence in order to do so.

The desire for non-farm employment does, however, seem to decrease with increasing age. Also, in considering educational level, respondents appear to be rather realistic about their opportunities for shifting out of farm work. Those with less education less frequently indicate a desire to obtain non-farm employment. Thus there are definite associations between size of hometown, exposure to non-farm employment during the winter, age and education and the expression of a desire to shift to non-farm employment. Those migrants who are younger, better educated and have had more exposure to the non-farm jobs of the larger cities more frequently report a desire to switch.

Respondents who desire non-farm employment nearly unanimously indicate that they would be willing to participate in a training program that would upgrade employment skills. Nearly 99 percent of those indicating a willingness to receive additional training to upgrade their employment skills prefer non-farm over farm employment. This indicates that respondents desiring non-farm employment are also willing to make a commitment in order to qualify for non-farm employment.

As expected, when controlling for age and education we found that there were differences in desire for off-farm employment. This became even more significant when we controlled for ethnic background. Mexican-American respondents have considerably less desire for off-farm employment than either Negro or Southern white respondents. Negro and Southern white respondents express a higher preference for non-farm employment in all cases.

Table 4-18

MIGRANTS DESIRE FOR NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNICITY, AGE AND EDUCATION

	Mexican-American		Negro		Southern White		Total		
	Non-Farm %	Farm %	Non-Farm %	Farm %	Non-Farm %	Farm %	Non-Farm %	Farm %	N
Under 40									
6 yrs. or less	11	18	7	0	5	20	38	62	53
more than 6 yrs.	8	13	28	9	23	7	58	42	57
40 or over									
6 yrs. or less	12	33	22	13	7	9	35	65	83
more than 6 yrs.	1	4	15	7	5	25	35	65	29
Total %	32	68	72	29	40	61	41	59	222
Total N	42	90	33	13	17	27	92	130	

While Negro migrant laborers overwhelmingly and uniformly by age and educational categories expressed a desire for non-farm employment, the reverse was true among Mexican-Americans and Southern whites. Only younger, better-educated Southern white workers opted for non-farm employment to a greater degree than for farm labor. The similarity of the Mexican-American and Southern white preferences and their striking contrast to those of the Negro workers may be explained to some extent by the greater urban and non-farm experience of the Negro workers and the different organizational patterns among these categories. It seems likely that the effect of the extended family as the migratory unit may be crucial in shaping their desire for off-farm employment. Since most of the Mexican-American and white respondents travel in crews which contain members of their extended families, it may be inferred that the patriarchal authority system places limits on the possibility of the younger, better-educated from breaking away from the extended family and entering the non-farm labor market. The desire on the part of the patriarchal power figure in the family to maintain family solidarity may be primarily motivated by economic factors. The patriarchal power figure in each family is generally older and less well-educated. Consequently, there is little opportunity for him to enter into the non-farm labor force. He sees that his economic security is dependent upon the maintenance of family solidarity and his control over the earnings of the other family members. If they were to leave the migrant labor force and enter into non-farm employment, his control over them would be greatly weakened.

Desire to settle in Michigan closely resembles in direction, if not in magnitude, the responses given for the desire for non-farm employment when measured against our three prediction variables (age, education and size of hometown).

When we consider ethnic group we find again that there is a very close parallel between those desiring off-farm employment and those wishing to settle in Michigan. Among the Negro respondents, 61 percent desire to settle in Michigan; for the Mexican-Americans the percentage is 26 percent and for whites it is 13 percent. These percentages are somewhat lower than for those who desire off-farm employment, but they are generally in the same direction.

Table 4-19a

DESIRE TO SETTLE IN MICHIGAN BY ETHNIC GROUP

Settle in Michigan	Mexican-American %	Negro %	White %	TOTAL %
No	74	39	87	70
Yes	26	61	13	30
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	132	46	44	222

We hypothesized that having friends and relatives in Michigan would have a strong effect on the desire of migrants to settle here. There is no positive relation, however. Of those migrants who desire to settle here, about 30 percent do not have friends already living here, while 26 percent do have friends already settled in Michigan. Thirty-two percent of the migrants who have relatives in Michigan desire to settle here, while 29 percent of those who do not have relatives already here desire to settle in Michigan.

A very small number (23) in the sample had decided to stay in Michigan during the coming winter. Over two-thirds of those planning to stay in Michigan fell in the higher educational attainment group (6+ years). The proportion planning to stay generally follows the proportion of the various ethnic groups in the sample. Roughly one-half of those planning to stay are Mexican-American, while the remainder is split almost equally between Negro and white. About half of those planning to stay in Michigan this winter have friends or relatives already here. When we asked whether those who were planning to stay in Michigan had talked over this decision with other migrants, we found that less than one-fourth had done so. This indicates that other workers in the migrant stream do not exert a very strong positive influence in relation to settling out.

Slightly more than one-fourth of those planning to stay had come to Michigan with a crew. This is especially interesting since nearly one-half of the respondents in our sample (42%) had been members of a crew. Slightly more than one-third of those planning to stay come from each of the other travel groups, alone or with a group of friends or relatives.

It seems that the crew exerts a strong holding power on the migrant and does not afford him the opportunity to explore the possibility of settling out of the migrant stream. As mentioned earlier, there are several factors to be considered here: the extended family system found in the Mexican-American crews; the strong hold of the crew leader, perhaps financial in nature; the dependence of the individual upon the crew leader for transportation; the lack of freedom to explore other opportunities in Michigan because of the demanding work schedule set up by the crew leader attempting to maximize his returns; and the physically demanding nature of migrant agricultural work itself that leaves little time or energy available for exploring new job opportunities.

(2) Farm and Migratory Farm Labor Prior to Settlement in Michigan.

Having briefly summarized the most pertinent findings from the survey of Mexican-Americans who were working in the migrant farm labor stream in the summer of 1967, we return to our sample of resettled Mexican-American male household heads, this time in order to contrast, within this sample those who have had farm and migratory farm labor experience with those who have not.

Table 4-19 shows the proportions of Mexican-American in-migrants during various periods having different types of farm labor experience. Those having migratory farm labor experience have always comprised at least half of the incoming Mexican-Americans with this proportion rising during 1946-1950 and 1961-1968 to nearly two-thirds. Those having stable local farm background in their place of origin but no migratory experience comprised one-fifth of the in-migrants in 1941-1945 and 1956-1960 but one-sixth to one-tenth in other periods. Of those arriving in Michigan before World War II, nearly one-third had no farm work experience of any kind. During World War II and thereafter this proportion decreased. Since 1956 only about one in five of the new settlers in Michigan is without any farm labor background.

Of those who have traveled in the migrant stream, well over two-thirds have done so in Michigan prior to resettlement there in each period except that before 1941. Four out of five ex-migratory farm workers settling in Michigan during World War II had worked on Michigan farms during the season which is about the proportion of ex-migrants staying in Michigan since 1961 who had done so. The percent of new arrivals having worked as migrants in Michigan is greatest among the most recent arrivals. Half of those settling in Michigan since 1961 had previously worked in the state as migratory farm workers.

With respect to the total number of Mexican-Americans interviewed who were not born or raised in Michigan, we see that only one-fourth lack farm background altogether, while nearly two-thirds (59%) were at sometime in their lives migratory farm laborers, about three-fourths (72%) of these in Michigan.

Table 4-19

FARM LABOR EXPERIENCE BEFORE SETTLEMENT IN MICHIGAN BY PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT

Farm Labor Status	Cohort of Arrival						Percent of Total Total Number
	Before 1941 %	1941-1945 %	1946-1950 %	1951-1955 %	1956-1960 %	1961-1968 %	
No Farm Work	31	21	27	26	22	23	25 141
Local, Non-migratory Farm Work	18	23	10	14	22	13	16 88
Migratory Farm Work Anywhere	51	56	63	60	56	64	59 327
1) Percent of Total Settlers having prior migratory farm work in Michigan	31	46	42	39	37	51	42 231
2) Percent of Total Migratory Workers having worked in Michigan	61	83	67	65	67	79	72
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	90	84	97	121	54	110	556

Four of 10 male household heads interviewed had done migratory farm work in Michigan prior to settling there.

(3) Labor Force Experience of the Ex-Farm Worker: The First Job in Agriculture.

In developing a stochastic model for change of occupation among ex-farm workers in our sample,[2] Thomas Conner has prepared Table 4-20. It demonstrates the fact that the period during which respondents began their working careers in farm work is important in determining how long they remained in first jobs in agriculture. The 207 workers who began in agriculture were grouped by the period during which they were 16 years old and the mean duration of first job was computed. As can be seen, those respondents who were 16 after 1900 but before 1930 have a similar but very long mean duration of first job in agriculture. Those who were 16 after 1936 also have a similar but considerably shorter mean duration.

(4) The First Occupation in Michigan of the Ex-Farm Worker.

What is the impact of farm and migratory farm labor experience upon the distribution of first jobs by occupation after settling in Michigan? Table 4-21 suggests that it is considerable for non-migratory local farm workers but much less significant for migratory ones. With the exception of the 15 percent of migratory workers who obtained first jobs as farm laborers and the 18 percent of non-farm workers in the three highest occupations, the distribution of first jobs by occupation of those with no previous farm work and

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[2] Thomas L. Conner, "A Stochastic Model for Change of Occupation," Technical Report, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, February, 1969.

Table 4-20

MEAN DURATION OF FIRST JOB IF RESPONDENT BEGAN IN AGRICULTURAL WORK (MALES ONLY)

Period when 16 years old	Mean Duration	Number of Cases
1900-1920	13.9 years	17
1921-1925	13.5	17
1926-1930	13.8	24
1931-1935	9.2	21
1936-1940	3.6	35
1941-1945	5.8	30
1946-1950	4.9	28
1951-1955	2.9	13
1956-1960	3.4	14
After 1960	2.3	8
Total		207

Table 4-21

FIRST JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY OCCUPATION BY PREVIOUS FARM WORK STATUS

Occupation	Migrant Farm Work Status			Percent of Total Total Number
	No Farm Work %	Local Non-Migratory Farm Work %	Migratory Farm Work Anywhere %	
Professional and Technical; Managerial and Proprietary	5	0	1	2 11
Clerical, Sales	5	0	1	2 12
Craftsmen, Foremen	9	6	4	6 36
Drivers, Operatives	52	39	51	49 309
Service	8	4	6	7 41
Farm Laborers	0	37	15	14 85
Laborers	21	14	22	21 129
Total %	100	100	100	101
Total Number	185	91	347	623
Percent of Total	30	15	56	101

migratory farm work differ only slightly. On the other hand, those who held stable local farm jobs prior to resettlement were much more likely to obtain first jobs in Michigan as farm laborers than were ex-migratory workers. No incoming Mexican-Americans lacking farm background found first employment in agriculture, while almost no workers with any farm background obtained first jobs in the white collar occupations.

(5) The First Job By Industry of the Ex-Farm Worker.

Again with respect to the industry of the first job, local non-migratory farm background seems to make more difference than migratory farm labor experience. Table 4-22 shows again the much greater probability of finding ex-farm workers in first jobs in agriculture. Farm work background seems unrelated to finding first jobs in construction. There is, however, a greater tendency for ex-migratory workers to begin their Michigan work histories with jobs in metal fabrication. One of five resettling migrantory farm laborers went from the field into the foundry while only about one of 10 farm and non-farm workers traveled this job route. There were not very great differences in the proportions by farm labor status entering durable and non-durable manufacturing immediately following resettlement in Michigan. Non-farm workers did have a slightly higher proportion of first jobs in motor vehicles, however. While relatively few ex-farm workers received first jobs in sales, nearly the same percent of ex-migratory farm workers as non-farm workers did so. In service jobs, however, the percent of non-farm workers is at least three times that of workers with some farm labor experience.

(6) Average Characteristics By Previous Farm Work Status.

If having or not having previous farm or migratory farm laboring experience seems to made relatively little difference in the first jobs obtained in

Table 4-22

FIRST JOBS IN MICHIGAN BY INDUSTRY BY PREVIOUS FARM WORK STATUS

Industry	Migrant Farm Work Status			Percent of Total Total Number
	No Farm Work %	Local Non-Migratory Farm Work %	Migratory Farm Work Anywhere %	
Agriculture	3	40	19	17 106
Construction	10	10	11	11 67
Metals	13	10	21	17 105
Durables	9	4	6	7 40
Non-Durables	13	15	11	12 76
Motor Vehicles	21	14	17	18 110
Transportation, Utilities	3	1	3	3 16
Sales	9	2	8	8 46
Services	18	3	5	8 51
Total %	99	99	101	101
Total Number	182	91	344	617
Percent of Total	29	15	56	100

Michigan, does it make any greater difference in the characteristics of workers and their jobs? Table 4-23 provides the answer to this question.

1. Those workers who have had local farm labor work only or combined with migratory work are older as a group than those with no farm work or only migrant farm work after 16 years of age. Nevertheless, those with migratory work records after 16 have a somewhat later median year of arrival in Michigan.

2. The mean years of school completed is considerably higher for those having no farm labor background of any kinds than for those with it. Among the latter, those who have both settled local farm and migratory experience are lowest in educational attainment as a group, while those having done just local farm work are next in rank and those with migrant work only after 16 are highest among those having farm background. A possible explanation of the higher level of migrant farm workers' education is that joining the stream for a season or two might be a way of exploring opportunities and deciding to resettle in Michigan for those younger workers who have much higher educational attainment than their seniors.

The percentage distribution of years completed by farm work status (not shown) provides further indication of important differences in educational achievement. While 35 percent of non-farm workers have completed high school and 59 percent have had some high school education, only eight percent of those with a local farm background have finished high school and only 18 percent more have had any at all. Yet those with both local farm and migratory farm experience are even worse off educationally -- only one percent (one person of 123) had completed high school and but seven percent more had any education at all in grades nine through 12. Those who had done only migrant work for some period after the age of 16 were somewhat better off. Thirteen percent had

Table 4-23

AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY PREVIOUS FARM WORK STATUS

Variable	No Farm or Migrant Work After 16	Farm Work Only After 16	Migrant Work Only After 16	Both Farm and Migrant Work After 16
Mean Current Age	37.8	44.9	40.7	48.5
Median Year Arrived in Michigan	1949	1949	1951	1951
Mean Highest Grade Completed	9.3	5.2	6.5	3.7
Mean Job Shift Index	.32	.22	.34	.31
Mean Duration of Michigan First Job	4.1	5.7	4.7	4.0
Mean Duration of all Jobs	4.1	5.5	3.9	4.3
Mean First Michigan Weekly Pay (Constant $)	78	77	78	74
Mean Present or Last Weekly Pay (Constant $)	112	99	104	89
Mean First Michigan SEI	20	12	16	12
Mean Present or Last SEI	26	19	22	17

finished high school while another 35 percent had at least one year of school beyond the eighth grade. At the lower grade level, 85 percent of those having no farm experience had at least a sixth grade education. Half of the local farm workers and 60 percent of the migrant work only group had completed elementary education, but only one of four (27%) of those having combined local and migratory farm labor had done so.

3. With the exception of local farm workers who have changed jobs much less frequently than others, the job shift index does not vary greatly with type of farm labor background. As would be expected, the mean duration of first jobs in Michigan and of all jobs over the working career conform roughly to the mean job shift index, although those who did migratory farm work after 16 but had no local farm experience have, on the average, first jobs of greater duration than either their shift index or career mean duration would have suggested.

4. There is surprisingly little variation in the mean weekly pay for the first jobs in Michigan by previous farm labor status, especially considering the considerable differences in education among the categories. We can only conclude again that in the process of migration and job search in relatively unfamiliar job markets at the lower skill levels, education does not have a particularly significant effect on the pay and occupational status of the job the in-migrant first obtains. As we saw with regard to occupational status, however, there tends to be an increasing congruence of education, pay and SEI in the process of job shifting over time following settlement. Similarly we see in Table 4-23 a conformity of mean education and pay by the time of the present or last job in respect to the differentiation among farm work status categories.

5. The same effect can be noted with regard to socio-economic status. While those lacking farm experience found significantly higher status first jobs than those with such background, by the present or last job, differentiation in mean SEI was greater and ranked very much as we would expect it to be given the educational and wage differences noted above.

(7) Average Characteristics By Previous Migrant Farm Work Status in Michigan.

We have demonstrated important differences in certain characteristics within our sample of Mexican-American male household heads differentiated by farm labor background. We can ask further whether having migrant labor experience in Michigan before settlement makes any important differences in these characteristics. Table 4-24 suggests that the answer is generally negative.

1. Those who settled in Michigan without having any previous migratory farm labor experience in the state are, on the average, somewhat younger than those who worked here before settlement. The difference is slight, however, and there is no notable variation in the age distributions for the two categories of respondents.

2. Although both categories have similar median years of arrival in Michigan, those not having migratory experience prior to settlement, the direct migrants to Michigan, have a larger proportion of arrivals before World War II (19% vs. 12%) and a smaller proportion of recent arrivals since 1960 (17% vs. 27%) than those dropping out of the migrant stream in Michigan.

3. There is a difference in mean years of school completed, but it is not so great as that between non-farm workers and those with any kind of agricultural experience. Twenty-two percent of the "direct" in-migrants have

Table 4-24

AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY PREVIOUS MIGRANT FARM WORK STATUS IN MICHIGAN

Variable	No Migrant Work Before Settlement	Some Migrant Work Before Settlement
Mean Current Age	41.4	43.0
Median Year Arrived in Michigan	1950	1951
Mean Highest Grade Completed	7.2	5.6
Mean Job Shift Index	.30	.33
Mean Duration of Michigan First Job	4.7	4.2
Mean Duration of all Jobs	4.6	3.7
Mean First Michigan Weekly Pay (Constant $)	78	76
Mean Present or Last Weekly Pay (Constant $)	105	99
Mean First Michigan SEI	16	14
Mean Present or Last SEI	23	20

completed high school while only eight percent of the "migrant drop-outs" have done so. Sixty-four percent of the former category have at least completed grade school while 51 percent of the latter category have done so.

4. There is but slight difference in the mean job shift record of the two groups of in-migrants. The mean job durations of first and present or last jobs conform to what would be expected from the relative frequency of change. Those having no migratory farm labor experience in Michigan prior to settlement tend to have changed jobs somewhat less frequently and have held their first and present or last jobs longer than those who do.

5. The difference in pay for first job is again slight, although somewhat greater for present or last job held.

6. Similarly the differences between the socio-economic status index for first and for present or last jobs are not impressive but, as in the other statistics presented, tend to favor those not having previously worked in the state as migratory farm workers.

5. Job Satisfaction and Change.

(1) The Migrant's First Non-Farm Job.

Interviewees were asked what they liked most and least about their first nonfarm job in Michigan and about their current job. That nearly half (48%) of the 407 males responding mentioned pay first as a positive aspect is consistent with other findings. Other favorably-regarded features of the first job were security (12%), intrinsic satisfaction in the work (11%), working conditions (10%), the relative ease compared with farm work (8%), the social relations on the job (6%) and the status or responsibility conferred by the job (5%). Regarding those aspects liked least about the first nonfarm job, again nearly half (45%) of the 295 of 626 males responding focused on one category of complaint, namely, working conditions, which these workers found to be dirty, cold, noisy, too far from home or demanding of excessive hours. Nearly one of five (17%) found his first job too hard, too heavy or monotonous. Ten percent complained of the low job security and layoffs they experienced. Somewhat more (16%) found the pay disappointingly low or expected fringe benefits lacking. One in 20 (5%) reported unfavorable social relations on his first job, including discrimination in the assignment of work. Finally, three percent were concerned about the low status of the job.

(2) Current Job.

Two-thirds of the male workers said that they are very happy at their present place of work, and a similar proportion (69%) claimed that they find their present line of work to be very satisfying. A slightly smaller percent (62%) of female workers expressed satisfaction in both regards. Fewer than 10 percent of either sex reported being not very happy with their place of work or not very satisfied with their line of work.

When asked what they find most or least satisfying about their current line of work, the 88 percent who answered positively emphasized a much greater variety of favorable features. Contrasting with the heavy emphasis on pay in evaluating the first job (48%) was the relative lack of emphasis on this regarding the present one (14%). Instead, the nature of the tasks (20%), pride and enjoyment in the work (16%) and the work conditions (15%) account for half of the features mentioned. Status (11%) and social relations (11%) were viewed with satisfaction almost as often as the nature of the task. Consistent with the decrease in emphasis on pay is the low proportion citing security (6%). These data suggest a shift from emphasis on pay and security to the nature of the work as salient sources of job satisfaction over the time from the first job in Michigan to the present. The high degree of present satisfaction with both place of employment and line of work is, however, striking. Some corroboration for this finding can be found in the workers' reports of their plans for job retention or change.

(3) Job Change Plans.

Three-fourths of those presently working expressed their intention to remain in their present line of work. One in five said he was thinking of changing his line of work, and only one in twenty insisted that he definitely planned to change work. Of those 120 workers thinking of or definitely planning to change who responded regarding what kind of work they might change to, 30 percent chose operative jobs, 30 percent chose crafts, 10 percent were considering entrepreneurial or managerial type work and nearly 10 percent expressed the desire to attain a professional work status. The remaining 20 percent designated a wide variety of often quite specific types of work.

But inquiring into the worker's plans or expectations is only one way of further assessing his job satisfaction and readiness to make a shift in his line of work. What if he sees little or no possibility of any change? Then he presumably will not be thinking of doing so. To avoid this problem, a further question was asked, namely, "If you had the chance, would you rather be doing some other kind of work?" As expected, the responses indicated much less satisfaction than the previous questions attempting to evaluate this aspect of job commitment. If they could do so, 58 percent of the workers to whom the question was applicable said they would rather do some other kind of work. The choice of type of work among these 364 workers wishing to change does, however, suggest the hypothetical nature of the question, for only 18 percent would like to switch to an operative job and 38 percent would prefer a craft. Again, about 10 percent would like to be managers, and somewhat more (13%) would like to become professionals. That these responses are not purely fantasy on the part of the workers, however, is suggested by the expressed willingness of two-thirds of them to enroll in job training as noted earlier in this chapter.

In brief, then, job satisfaction and plans to change are difficult to measure. This study uses a number of questions in an attempt to do this. It is clear from the above that no single direct question is adequate. From the responses examined, it can be concluded only that dissatisfaction with present employment does not seem to be widespread but that a desire and willingness to upgrade employment exists among Mexican American workers in this sample.

6. Work by Other Family Members

(1) Wife's Work.

In the last two months of 1967, one-third of the wives of the 626 male respondents were working for pay either at home or away from home. Of the two-thirds not then employed, more than half (59%) had been at some time in the past.

By occupation. Table 4-25 shows the distribution of jobs held by wives at any time by standard occupational categories with comparable percentages of women so employed in urban Michigan in 1960. As in the case of the male family heads, their wives are greatly over-represented in the operative category and similarly under-represented in clerical categories compared with other urban females. The comparability is weak in a number of categories, since this tabulation includes both the jobs of those presently employed and jobs held by other wives employed only in the past. This accounts for the 13 percent included in farm labor and migrant farm labor.

Table 4-25

WIFE'S JOB BY OCCUPATIONAL TYPE

Occupation	Mexican American Sample 1967 N	%	Michigan Urban (Females) 1960[1] %
Medical & health workers	5	1.2	4.0
Teachers	5	1.2	5.6
Other professional, technical	9	2.2	4.0
Managers & Proprietors	3	0.7	3.1
Clerical			
Secretaries, typists	15	3.5	11.0
Other clerical	34	8.0	21.5
Sales	22	5.2	9.3
Craftsmen and kindred	13	3.1	1.2
Operatives	135	31.7	12.6
Private household workers	16	3.8	6.7
Waitresses, cooks	31	7.3	6.2
Other service workers	80	18.8	9.2
Farm laborers	20	4.7	0.1
Migrant farm laborers	37	8.7	--
Laborer	1	0.2	0.5
Total	426	100.3	

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, Michigan, Final Report PC(1) 24B, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Printing Office, 1961).

By industry. The employment of wives by industry type as presented in Table 4-26 shows greater diversity in the type of employment than would be anticipated from an inspection of the occupational distribution in Table 4-25. Although one in four (27%) of the wives is or has been employed in manufacturing, the next largest type of employment, excepting agriculture, is in hospitals, largely as nurses' aides or kitchen help. It is worth noting also that the largest single source of employment among manufacturing industries is in food-related industries (10%).

Table 4-26

WIFE'S JOB BY INDUSTRY TYPE

Industry	Mexican American Sample 1967 N		%		Michigan Urban (Females) 1960[2] %
Agriculture	59		13.9		0.2
Manufacturing	112		26.5		20.5
Furniture		8		1.9	
Fabricated metals		17		4.0	
Motor vehicles		27		6.4	
Food		41		9.7	
Apparel & textiles		6		1.4	
Chemicals		5		1.2	
Other non-durables		8		1.9	
Trucking & Warehouses	15		3.5		
Food and dairy retailing	6		1.4		3.0
Eating and drinking places	36		8.5		5.5
Other retail trade	33		7.8		12.6
Finance, Insurance	11		2.6		5.6
Private Households	14		3.3		
Other personal services	25		5.9		11.7
Entertainment	5		1.2		0.7
Hospitals	47		11.1		7.6
Educational services	22		5.2		11.0
Welfare, religious	8		1.9		
All others not listed above	31		7.3		
Total	424		100.1		

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, Michigan, Final Report PC(1) 24B, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Printing Office, 1961).

Hours worked. About two-thirds (64%) of the wives having been or presently in the labor force worked or are working the standard 40 hours per week. One in five (19%) worked or is working less than 30 hours per week, and similarly nearly one in five (17%) worked or is working more than 40 hours each week.

Pay. Only one in five wives made more than $75 per week when working. Nearly one-third (34%) made $51 to $75 per week and another third (33%) made between $26 and $50 per week. Twenty-five dollars or less was contributed to family income by 13 percent of the working wives.

Work situation. All but a few (5%) wives who are working or having worked have done so outside their homes. However, 61 percent of them are within 15 minutes of their places of work. Only one in twenty must travel for more than 30 minutes to get to her job.

(2) Other Earners in the Household.

Although almost half of the households sampled (44%) have more than one wage earner, few (10%) have more than two. There is no indication that children in the household contribute substantially to family income although part-time or school vacation employment may do so to some degree. Considering that only about one of three Mexican-American youths finish high school, there would appear to be a substantial majority of the 16 through 18 year age category who enter the labor force early or else who remain an economic burden at home because of lack of employment. Other evidence does indicate that many children as well as wives have done some farm work while living in Michigan.

Farm labor. In addition to the relatively high participation in seasonal farm work among household heads noted above, it is further remarkable that nearly one-third (32%) of the male interviewees reported that their wives and children had at some time during the years they have lived in Michigan worked with migrants in the fields while the husbands themselves continued working at their regular year-round jobs. In two-thirds of these cases the wife and children worked as a unit. In one-fourth of the cases the wife worked alone in the fields. In only 14% of the instances of family members working in the fields after settlement did the children do so alone. The majority (60%) of these family members worked every day during the period they were in the fields. Others work on weekends (11%) or during other times.

7. Income*

(1) Income Level and Sources.

Income is perhaps the one single variable which tells the most about families. When income is controlled for family size and number of household earners, it indicates many other factors. First, it places a family in an economic status relative to others in their geographic area. Next, it is a measure of how much material comfort is available to the family relative to the prevalent standard of living. Income is also an indicator of type of job, age or sex of the principal earner, sometimes of marital status, and often of number of minor children in the family. These factors will be considered on a comparative basis for male and female heads of Mexican-American families in the sample.

Mexican-American female heads compare unfavorably with their male counterparts when income levels are studied. The male heads have an income mean of $5,400 while female heads' mean income is only $3,100. Over 50 percent of female heads make less than $4,000 per annum, while in contrast 52 percent of male heads reported incomes in excess of $7,000 per year. The modal group (23%) of female heads made between $2,000 and $3,000 per year; male heads' modal group (35%) earned between $7,000 and $9,000 per year. Table 15 indicates the income distribution of Mexican-American heads.

Direct comparisons of Mexican-American heads with others where they live are not possible as comparable figures for others in Michigan are on the basis of 1959 earnings, while the Mexican-American data were collected in 1967. However, in consideration of the fact that incomes have risen since 1959, the

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*By Harriet Tillock.

Table 4-27

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS BY SEX

Income Distribution	Male Heads		Female Heads	
	N	%	N	%
$1,500 or less	6	1.0	6	8.7
$1,500 - $1,999	9	1.4	2	2.9
$2,000 - $2,999	20	3.2	16	23.2
$3,000 - $3,999	33	5.3	13	18.8
$4,000 - $4,999	51	8.1	12	17.4
$5,000 - $6,999	175	28.0	9	13.0
$7,000 - $9,999	217	34.7	7	10.1
$10,000 -$14,999	91	14.5	1	1.4
$15,000 and over	16	2.6	0	0.0
No Answer	8	1.3	3	4.3
Totals	626	100.1	69	99.8

Mexican-Americans appear to be somewhat disadvantaged economically. The Michigan Statistical Abstract indicates that in 1965 the median earnings reported for families in the eight sample counties was $8,405. Mexican-American heads as a group had median earnings of between $5,000 and $7,000.

The sex of the head does make a difference in median earnings, and the most comparable figures for this control have been compiled from 1960 census figures for the State of Michigan. Caution should be exercised in reading these data since income levels have risen since 1959, the year used as base for the census data. When Mexican-American heads' incomes are compared on these data, it appears that male heads earned less in 1967 than did all husbands in 1959. Female heads earned about the same in 1967 as did female heads of households in 1959. However, the median earnings of the Mexican-American heads of both sexes were well above those reported in 1959 by non-white heads of households. Mexican-Americans in Michigan also earn more money than did persons of Spanish surname in Texas in 1959. This is not surprising as 51 percent of male heads and 32 percent of female heads indicated that they left Texas to come to Michigan because there were no jobs, low pay, or little opportunity for them in Texas. Table 4-28 compares the Mexican-American heads with others on median income reported by husband/wife and female-headed families in Michigan and Texas by color and ethnic origin.

Bogue has discussed methods of adjusting income to family size. Two indices used were number of persons in the household and age of head.[3] The index of number of persons in the household by age of head[4] shows that heads in the 35 to 54 age group who have six persons in the household require 131 percent of the average family income to provide the same material advantages for their family as those of the average family. Mexican-American male heads between 30 and 50 years of age average over six family members per household. In the age range 35 to 54, heads with five family members need 115 percent of the average income to provide an average level of material comfort. Female heads of Mexican-American families in the 30 to 50 years age range average over five members per household. In both cases

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[3] Bogue, Principles of Demography, (New York: Wiley, 1969), pp. 416-419.

[4] Ibid., p. 417.

Table 4-28

MEDIAN INCOME BY SEX OF HEAD
(IN DOLLARS)

Categories	All Families	Husband/Wife Present	Female Head
Mexican-American Sample (1967)			
-(Mean Income)	5,200	5,600	3,100
-Median Income Range	5,000-7,000	7,000-10,000	3,000-4,000
Michigan 1959[a]	6,256	6,469	3,359
Michigan Non-White 1959[a]	4,407	4,871	1,912
Persons of Spanish Surname -Texas 1959[b]	All Classes	Males with Income	Females with Income
-All Classes	1,536	2,029	1,000
-Native of Native Parents	1,507	2,024	1,000
-Native of Mexican Parents	1,692	2,257	1,000
-Born in Mexico	1,330	1.715	1,000
Michigan 1959[c]	All Classes	Males 14 Years and over	Females 14 Years and Over
-All	-----	5,211	2,438
-Non-White	-----	4,150	1,805

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[a] *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* PC(1)-24D, p. 650.

[b] *U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname*, Final Report PC(2)-1B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Printing Office, 1963), pp. 39-41.

[c] *U. S. Census*, PC(1)-24D, pp. 537, 540.

the heads' incomes for 1967 were below those of comparable average families in Michigan for 1959.

All families in Michigan in 1960 averaged 3.73 persons per household. All Mexican-American households average 5.5 members. Table 4-28 shows that all families in Michigan in 1959 had a median income of $6,256 while Mexican-American families, nearly a decade later, had a mean income of $5,200 and a median range of $5,000 to $7,000. There seems little doubt that Mexican-American families in general are living with relatively lower levels of material comfort than are the majority of other white families in Michigan.

Another index used by Bogue was the number of earners per household.[5] He mentions that nearly half of the families in the United States had two or more persons earning money in 1960. However, Mexican-American households differ from others in the United States since 57 percent of male heads were the only earners in their households, and only 38.4 percent had two or more earners in their households. One-third of female heads had no earners at all in their homes, 44 percent had one earner, and only 23 percent had two or more earners per household. This may account in part for the fact that Mexican-Americans have lower incomes per family. Table 4-29 presents these data.

Table 4-29 does indicate, in general, that the more persons per household earning money, the higher the income. However, it is obvious that Mexican-Americans do not earn high wages, as strangely enough, the more earners after two for male-headed households and three for female-headed ones, the lower the total income. This would seem to indicate

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[5] Ibid., pp. 404-405.

Table 4-29

NUMBER OF EARNERS PER HOUSEHOLD AND MEAN INCOME

Number of Earners Per Household	Mean Income in Dollars					
	Male Heads			Female Heads		
	N	%	Income	N	%	Income
No Earner	26	4.2	3,300	23	33.3	2,300
One Earner	360	57.5	5,400	30	43.5	4,500
Two Earners	177	28.3	6,200	10	14.5	3,100
Three Earners	51	8.1	6,000	4	5.8	4,800
Four Earners	11	1.8	5,800	2	2.9	2,000
Five or More Earners	1	0.2	10,000	--	----	-----
TOTAL	626	100.1		69	100.0	

that several persons may work part-time at low-paying jobs so that the family can survive.

The sex differential has already appeared, since female heads, even when they are able to earn money, earn much less than do male heads. This situation is not unusual and has been widely discussed so further consideration will not be given to it here. Related to the sex differences among Mexican-American heads is the age variable. As has been previously noted, female heads are older than male heads on the average. Income and age are known, have a curvilinear relationship, and Mexican-American heads are no exception. Female heads are consistently reporting lower incomes than do the males with the exception of the 75 and over group in which one income was reported as being in excess of $10,000. Therefore, the mean was very high. Table 4-30 shows these data.

Table 4-30

AGE OF HEAD BY SEX AND MEAN INCOME

Age of Head in Years	Mean Income in Dollars					
	Male Head			Female Head		
	N	%	Income	N	%	Income
Under 19	5	0.8	4,500	0	0.0	-----
20 - 29	120	19.4	6,575	8	12.3	3,100
30 - 39	180	29.1	7,588	16	24.6	4,088
40 - 49	154	24.9	7,400	17	26.2	4,411
50 - 59	83	13.4	6,470	16	24.6	4,000
60 - 64	38	6.1	6,470	3	4.6	4,000
65 - 75	36	5.8	4,638	2	3.1	1,750
76 and Over	3	0.5	1,500	3	4.6	5,000
Totals	619	100.0		65	100.0	

For Mexican-American heads it "pays" to be married. For both sexes, the heads have the highest mean income. The male heads in other marital statuses show little variation. Divorced and widowed female heads have incomes under the poverty level of $3,000; widows are at that level, and the separated heads are barely over it. When reference is made to the number of persons in the female heads' homes, it is obvious that they are in real poverty with so many to provide for with so little money.

When number of household persons and number of household minors are considered, the per capita income of Mexican-Americans is obviously very low. Table 4-31 shows that size of household and mean number of minors in households vary some according to income but with no clear pattern except that of consistently large household size and never less than two minors in any home.

Table 4-31

INCOME BY NUMBER OF PERSONS AND MINORS IN HOUSEHOLDS

Income in Dollars	Male Head		Female Head		Mean Number			
					Persons		Minors	
	N	%	N	%	Male Head	Female Head	Male Head	Female Head
Less than $1,500	6	1.0	6	8.7	5.5	4.8	4.3	3.8
$ 1,500 - 1,999	9	1.4	2	2.9	5.6	2.0	4.3	2.0
$ 2,000 - 2,999	20	3.2	16	23.2	4.2	3.4	2.7	3.5
$ 3,000 - 3,999	33	5.3	13	18.8	5.0	4.4	4.0	4.3
$ 4,000 - 4,999	51	8.1	12	17.4	5.1	5.7	3.8	5.2
$ 5,000 - 6,999	175	28.0	9	13.0	5.5	4.2	4.3	3.3
$ 7,000 - 9,999	217	34.7	7	10.1	5.9	5.0	4.7	4.1
$10,000 - 14,999	91	14.5	1	1.4	5.5	3.0	4.3	2.0
$15,000 and Over	16	2.6	0	0.0	6.1	0.0	4.9	0.0
Totals	618	98.7	66	95.7				

With such generally low incomes, it is clear that Mexican-American heads must often receive aid in the form of welfare or Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC). Less than 4 percent (24) of the male heads receive this type of aid, but 45 percent of female heads (31) must utilize this source of income. It appears that many of the Mexican-American heads receiving public funds as income supplement must do so to support their children. This is particularly true of female heads, of whom 38 percent (26) receive no regular wage as income.

The 1967 income of Mexican-American heads of households is in general lower than that of other white families in Michigan during 1959. Mexican-

Americans often have only one earner per household and, in general, have occupations in the lower ranges of the socio-economic scale. This accounts in part for their lower income levels. Larger than normal household membership and frequency of minor children in the homes indicate that Mexican-Americans have often incomes inadequate to allow them to have a relatively decent standard of living. Therefore, especially female heads must seek welfare of AFDC aid for their families.

Sources. A glance at Table 4-32 reveals that while few families reported receiving income from a source other than regular wages, each of the other sources listed provides some income for at least a few of the families.

Table 4-32

PERCENT OF FAMILIES REPORTING INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Source	N	%
Regular wages	607	87.3
Wages from a second job	97	14.0
Social security	75	10.8
Unemployment compensation	73	10.5
Rents for property	72	10.4
Interest and dividends	70	10.1
Pensions, annuities, insurance	61	8.8
Welfare/ADC payments	56	8.1
Other	34	4.9
Payments for room and board	34	4.9
Veterans' payments	29	4.2
Business income	22	3.2
Gifts and tips	16	2.3
Farm income	6	0.9
Rents for equipment	3	0.4
Government agricultural payments	3	0.4

(2) Consumer Behavior.

Housing. The great majority (69%) of family heads are buying their houses, predominantly on land contracts (48%) since only one in four has a mortgage (28%). Almost one family in four (24%) owns its house outright.

Those families paying rent or making payments on a land contract or mortgage have a median monthly payment of between $51 and $75. Only two out of five pay more than $75 and nearly one out of twenty-five (3.7%) have no payment at all since the house, usually in a rural area, comes with the job.

A discussion of the two types of financing, mortgage and land contracts, may be useful. The opportunity of financing housing by land contract in Michigan is an important avenue to ownership for such a group as the Mexican-Americans. A mortgage is held by a bank which imposes restrictions on the type, location and age of dwellings it will finance and also has more stringent credit criteria which a client must meet. Land contracts, on the other hand, are usually held by individuals whose restrictions, standards and credit investigations are often more lenient. A land contract also offers the advantage of a lower down payment, no closing costs and may extend the payment period beyond the current 25 year limit imposed on a mortgage. In the case of a land contract the deed to the property is retained by the lender until payment is completed whereas with a mortgage the purchaser is given the deed immediately. A distinct disadvantage to the land contract is that repossession may follow immediately upon failure to remit a single house payment promptly. In contrast, repossession procedures on mortgaged houses run a matter of months and provide opportunities for the mortgage holder to be re-instated and to protect his investment. The less stringent credit requirements and the possibility of rapid repossession with the land contract make it possible for unscrupulous creditors to take advantage of lower income households.

Cars. Only about one in ten (11%) of the families is without its own car. Over half (53%) own one car, and one-third (33%) own two. Twenty-four (3.5%) respondents asserted that they have three cars, and two claimed they have four.

Slightly more than half (54%) bought their cars used. However, nearly half (44%) of the cars are 1965 or later models, i.e., less than three years old.

Credit. Most (58%) of the family heads said that they usually buy things that cost a lot of money on credit. Another 24 percent replied that they use either cash or credit. Fewer than one of five (17%) maintained that his family saves up for large purchases and pays cash.

Borrowing. Table 4-33 shows the sources of loans and the number and percent of families using each during the past year. The relatively high proportion of use of the credit union probably will be accounted for by the fact that the city having the largest Mexican-American population among those sampled, Saginaw, also has a Mexican-American credit union.

Checking accounts. Only one-third (35%) of the Mexican-American family heads maintain checking accounts. Of the males who do, however, eight of ten (83%) stated that the account is a joint one with their wives.

Savings. When asked about savings, nearly half (44%) of the family heads reported they have none at all. However, nearly three-fourths (73%) of the female-headed families are without savings compared with less than half (41%) of the male-headed families. Of those having savings, half claimed they have $500 or more while 13 percent asserted that they have less than $100 saved.

Table 4-33

SOURCES OF LOANS

Source	N	%
Bank	215	29.8
Loan company	163	22.6
Private lender	27	3.7
Pawnshop	8	1.1
Family members	57	7.9
Friends	35	4.8
Boss	26	3.6
Credit union	185	25.6
Other	6	0.8
Total	722	100.0

Insurance. Eight of every ten heads interviewed reported having a life insurance policy (81%), and a similar proportion (80%) have health insurance policies. As in all other comparisons involving level of living, female-headed households seem relatively disadvantaged, with only 58 percent protected by life insurance on the family head compared with 83 percent of those headed by males. Health insurance was reported in only one-third of the female-headed households, in contrast to 83 percent again in those having male heads.

Chapter 5

GETTING AHEAD: OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME MOBILITY

Mexican-Americans are on the move. The migrant farm workers of South Texas have made seasonal geographical mobility a way of life, as miserable as it may be. Others have moved more permanently, presumably in search of a better life for themselves and their children. These are, of course, the majority respondents in this survey not born or raised in Michigan. To what degree have they succeeded in improving their livelihoods compared to those of their fathers or to those they maintained in South Texas and in the fields of the Midwest? Answers to this question can be made in a variety of ways depending upon the measure of mobility one uses. We will look first at intergenerational mobility, comparing each respondent's education and occupation with his father's. Next we will examine the mobility experienced within the period of settlement in Michigan with respect to occupational and industrial job changes. Special attention will be devoted to assessing the impact of migratory farm labor experience upon the mobility of respondents. Finally, we will briefly discuss the respondents' subjective evaluation of their mobility experience and their aspirations and expectations for the future, both for themselves and their children.

1. From Father to Son: Intergenerational Mobility.

(1) Educational Mobility.

Table 5-1 classifies each respondent's highest grade of school completed by the highest grade his father completed for those 353 respondents for whom

Table 5-1

INTERGENERATIONAL EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY (MALES)
RESPONDENTS' EDUCATION BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

Respondent's Highest Grade Completed	Respondent's Father's Highest Grade Completed							
	0	1-5	6	7-9	10+	Total N	Percent of Total	Percent of Total Sample
0	22	3	3	7	9	44	13	12
1-5	29	16	9	21	17	78	22	29
6	9	9	16	0	---	29	8	10
7-9	22	26	16	10	17	75	21	22
10-11	7	22	13	21	9	46	13	10
12	8	20	34	28	9	54	15	12
13+	4	5	9	14	39	27	8	5
Total %	101	101	100	101	100		100	100
Total N	167	102	32	29	23	353		626
Percent of Total	47	29	9	8	7		100	

both data are available. Only 56 percent of the male respondents could be included in the table because of missing data on father's education in the remaining cases. That this results in some distortion is apparent from a comparison of the distribution of education for the 353 cases used with that for the total sample of 626 males. The table probably tends to overemphasize the amount of educational mobility since the distortion is in the upward direction. Those respondents having less education themselves were more likely to never have known or not to remember their fathers' level of education. On the other hand, grouping certain years tends to reduce the amount of mobility shown since within the grades so grouped, respondents are usually a year or so ahead of their fathers. Nevertheless, from the point of view of education's functional significance, the grouping seems justified. Despite these limitations, the table does provide a rough indication of the extent and nature of intergenerational educational mobility.

Calculations based on Table 5-1 indicate that nearly three-quarters (72%) of the males included have surpassed their fathers' highest grade in school. However, one in five (21%) only achieved an education in the same category as his father's. These are indicated by the underlined percents in each category along the diagonal of the table. About one in 15 (7%) failed to attain the level his father did.

Table 5-1 shows considerable progress in obtaining at least some formal education. Nearly half (47%) of the respondents' fathers had no formal education at all but only 13 percent of their sons are this disadvantaged. It is interesting, however, that while there has been a considerable shift upward in the educational achievement between the generations, we find that the proportions of fathers and sons having completed one to five years and six years are not greatly different. Nevertheless, only a third (35%) of respondents included in the table had less than a sixth grade education compared with over three-fourths (76%) of their fathers. Only 15 percent of the older generation had any education beyond elementary school compared to well over half (57%) of the interviewees. Nearly four times the percent of respondents have completed high school as compared to their fathers.

In general, the lower the educational attainment of the father, the more likely is the son to be found in the same category with respect to his own highest grade completed. On the other hand, among cases in which the son has surpassed his father's level, he has tended to go further beyond, the higher his father's educational level. Thus while nearly 80 percent of the sons of fathers having completed no years of schooling managed to obtain at least some themselves, half of these did not complete grade school. In those cases in which the father had at least some formal education but had not completed the sixth grade, nearly three-fourths (73%) of the sons managed to obtain some education beyond grade school, almost one-fourth of them finishing high school. The father's completion of at least elementary school seems even more critical to high educational attainment by his son. In such cases, a remarkable 44 percent of respondents completed high school. Interestingly enough, the father's going beyond grade school to complete one to three years more of education does seem to have greatly enhanced the son's probability of completing high school. It would appear that in respect to the son's chances of graduation from high school, what is important is that the father have completed elementary school. A few more years does not appear to be critical in the son's educational achievement. However, when the father had completed the tenth grade or more, he had greatly increased his son's chances of finishing high school and going beyond to at least one year of higher education. On the other hand, the higher the father's level, the greater is the likelihood of the son's failing to equal it. Thus 44 percent of the sons of fathers who completed at least the tenth grade have failed to complete a grade higher than the ninth. These findings are, of course, subject to high sampling error because of the low number of cases of fathers having a sixth grade education or greater.

(2) Occupational Mobility.

Table 5-2 presents the opportunity to inspect the degree and nature of occupational mobility in the same manner as that afforded by Table 5-1 in regard to educational mobility. In this case the loss of respondents because of missing data is much less serious and the larger numbers permit somewhat greater confidence in the findings.

As revealed in Table 5-2 the extent of occupational mobility is quite similar to that found in education. Only about one of six workers (18%) has the same occupation as his father, while another one of six presently works in, or last worked in, an occupation which might be considered lower in status than his father's. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of the respondents, then, have experienced intergenerational occupational mobility. Since nearly half (48%) of the respondents' fathers worked in agriculture as farm owners, tenant farmers, farm laborers or migrant farm laborers, mobility could be achieved by half our sample simply by leaving farm work, since it is generally considered to be the lowest status occupation. (We have included farm owners in this category because at the acreages and incomes typical of Mexican-American farm owners in South Texas, the status distinction between owner, tenant, and laborer is relatively insignificant for our discussion here although it might not be in other contexts.) We see that extremely few respondents whose fathers were in farming occupations hold present jobs in them. Indeed, nearly three-fourths (72%) of intergenerational occupational mobility in Table 5-2 can be accounted for by farmer's sons who now work in non-farm occupations. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds (62%) of these sons of the farm have experienced upward occupational mobility by becoming operatives in factories. Interestingly

Table 5-2

PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Present Occupation	Father's Occupation										
	White Collar[1] %	Craftsman Foreman %	Driver Operative %	Service %	Non-Farm Laborer %	Farm Owner %	Tenant Farmer %	Farm Laborer %	Migrant Farm Laborer %	Total Number	% of Total
White Collar[1]	14	2	15	6	4	10	3	5	4	42	7
Craftsman Foreman	12	20	12	13	10	15	22	13	19	83	14
Driver Operative	61	66	63	69	67	59	59	67	56	365	63
Service	10	8	2	6	1	6	8	5	6	30	5
Non-Farm Laborer		3	6	6	12	6	3	8	9	37	6
Farm Laborer	4	2	2		6	4	5	3	6	20	4
Total %	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	100		99
Total N	51	61	101	16	73	52	37	117	69	577	
Percent of Total	9	11	17	3	13	9	6	20	12		100

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[1] White Collar includes professional and technical, manager and proprietor, and clerical and sales which have been combined because of the very small number in each category.

enough, the operative occupational status absorbs nearly the same two-thirds (63%) of all occupational mobility in the table. In addition, it is the operative occupations which show the highest degree of occupational inheritance from father to son. Again, nearly two-thirds (63%) of respondents whose fathers were operatives have continued in this occupation. This is three times the intergenerational continuity found in the next highest occupation, craftsman and foreman. Indeed, since nearly two-thirds (62%) of the Mexican-American workers in our sample hold present jobs or held last jobs before leaving the labor force as operatives, it is not surprising that occupational mobility has been achieved by movement into operative jobs. It is interesting to note, however, that motor vehicle and metal fabrication firms employ 80 percent of the operatives. In brief, the automotive industry in Michigan can take credit for about half the intergenerational occupational mobility experienced by Mexican-Americans in this sample.

The comparison of fathers' educational and occupational statuses with those of their sons, our respondents, shows a similar and considerable amount of mobility, but within a relatively narrow range. Because of the increasing demand for more years of school as a qualification for certain jobs, each generation must complete more years just to stay in the same relative position as the preceding one. Thus the fact that a greater proportion of sons than of fathers have a few years beyond the sixth grade does not represent very impressive mobility. On the other hand, the larger percent of respondents having completed high school is quite significant. Thus while it is true that considerable educational mobility has been experienced by our respondents, it is somewhat less impressive when viewed relative to the generally rising years of school completed by the total population and to the increased educational qualifications for better jobs.

Similarly the large amount of occupational mobility is also somewhat illusory if we consider that most of it is accounted for by the contrast between the predominantly agricultural employment of the fathers and the operative employment of the sons. That is not to say that the mobility is unimportant, but that it is achieved within a relatively narrow segment of the occupational spectrum. There is no place to go but up from tenant farmer, farm laborer or migrant farm worker, and among Mexican-Americans in Texas, even from farm owner. Simply resettling into an urban-industrial milieu involves upward occupational mobility for any son of an agricultural worker, for even a laboring job in construction or manufacturing will be an improvement over his father's occupation, if for no other reason simply because of the gains brought about by working in a unionized industry.

Perhaps more important, then, than the intergenerational mobility, is the mobility of the respondent in his own working career, particularly that portion spent in Michigan. To what extent has he improved his lot in life with respect to his occupation, income, and socio-economic status since his first job in Michigan? Our data provide fairly clear answers.

2. Mobility in Michigan: Intragenerational Mobility.

(1) Occupational Mobility.

In Table 5-3 each respondent's present or last-held job is cross-classified by his first in Michigan. Again the underlined percents indicate no change. Thus half of the workers are in the same occupations or were before retirement that they began in. Only about one of 13 (8%) workers has a job in an occupation that would be ranked lower than that in which he entered employment in Michigan. About **two** of five workers (42%) have moved upward in occupational status. More than half (56%) of those achieving upward mobility have done so by moving from farm laborer, non-farm laborer or service worker into operative jobs. A quarter more of the upward mobility is accounted for by moves into craftsman or foreman jobs from these jobs and from operative jobs. Half of the downward mobility from first to present or last jobs is attributable equally to shifts from craftsman or foreman to operative jobs and from operative to service jobs.

It is notable that those workers who found first jobs in operative occupations are least likely to be found in any other occupation at the time of interview. Of those who shifted 13 percent moved up to craftsman or foreman jobs. The next most stable first occupation is that of craftsman and foreman. Half who obtained these jobs first are still found in them. More than one-third (36%), however, have moved down to operative jobs. Almost none have moved upward into white collar jobs. The low number of cases in the individual white collar occupations suggests caution in interpretation, although the percents for these occupations collectively are more reliable.

Table 5-3

PRESENT OR LAST JOB BY FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN BY OCCUPATION

Present Job By Occupation	First Job by Occupation Professional, Technical %	Clerical Sales %	Craftsmen Foremen %	Drivers Operatives %	Service %	Laborers %	Farm Laborers %	Percent of Total Number
Professional, Technical	50	18	3	1	2	0	0	2 12
Managerial Proprietary	21	18	3	2	7	3	6	3 21
Clerical, Sales	7	18	0	2	2	1	1	2 13
Craftsmen Foremen	7	18	56	13	5	14	5	14 88
Drivers, Operatives	7	27	36	74	59	60	54	63 391
Service	7	0	3	5	20	4	7	6 34
Laborers	0	0		3	5	18	6	7 40
Farm Laborers	0	0		1	0	1	20	3 20
Total %	99	99	101	101	100	101	99	100
Total Number	14	11	36	307	41	132	78	619
Percent of Total	2	2	6	50	7	21	13	101

Wage mobility. Another way of looking at mobility is in terms of the increase in real wages between the first job in Michigan and the present or last job held. For each of 493 workers for whom adequate data were available, we subtracted the weekly wage of the first job in Michigan (in constant 1959 dollars) from that of the present or last held job. In one-third of the cases we found a decline in real weekly wages. In only 3 percent of the comparisons was the difference zero. In the remaining nearly two-thirds the workers had improved their real income. The range of increase was from one dollar to $259 with all but two cases ranging between one dollar and $175. The median increase was $23 and the mean $13.

It is interesting to look at the median wage mobility experienced by workers presently or last in each of the occupational categories. Table 5-4 displays these medians together with the percent achieving a gain. Caution must be exercised in interpreting this table and Tables 5-5, 5-7 and 5-8 constructed in the same manner, for the median mobility shown for workers in each occupation or industry is based upon three types of workers in indeterminant proportions; namely, those who began in the job and have remained in it, those who began in it and have returned to it after jobs in other occupations or industries in the interim between first and present jobs, and those who held first jobs in different occupations or industries. Therefore, we cannot conclude, for example, that because workers in professional, technical, managerial or proprietary jobs have the highest median mobility from first to present jobs, these occupations have experienced the greatest increase in real wages. We can say only that those workers in them, or last in them, at the time of the interview have achieved the greatest average increase in real wages. Whether they did it entirely within these occupations or by moving out of others into them cannot be determined. However, the proportions can roughly be estimated by considering the percent of those in the same first and present occupation Thus, it is clear that most of the mean wage increase of operatives has been derived within operative jobs.

Table 5-4

MEDIAN INCREASE IN WEEKLY WAGES BY PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION

Occupation	Median Weekly Wage Increase	Number	Percent Gaining
Professional, Tech. Manager, Proprietor	$23.00	27	67
Clerical, Sales	$25.00	12	75
Craftsmen, Foremen	$26.50	74	73
Driver, Operative	$25.50	309	66
Service	-1.00	30	50
Laborer	.50	31	55

With the exception of service workers and laborers, the median increases in weekly wages of workers presently or last employed in each occupation are remarkably uniform as are the percents of workers in each category experiencing a gain. Half of the workers in service and laborer occupations, however, experienced no gain at all in real wages between their first job in Michigan and their present or last jobs. This analysis includes only workers who have had at least two jobs in Michigan.

SEI Mobility by Occupation. The index of socio-economic status (SEI) which we have used is based upon the mean income and education of jobs as provided by the 1950 U. S. Census.[1] Assigning the appropriate index to each job held by each worker, we have yet another measure of mobility standardized for jobs in the general population. The great majority of jobs held by Mexican-Americans in Michigan are in the lowest quartile of the SEI which ranges from zero to 100. Eighty percent of present or last jobs and 90 percent of first jobs are in the first quartile. The mean SEI of first jobs in Michigan is 16 and that of present or last jobs is 22 indicating a rise of 6 points between entry jobs and present ones. Because of the narrowness of the range of the distribution of SEI scores for our sample, this index is much less useful than it is for a sample of the general labor force. Coding can make important differences since only a few points either way are at stake. Despite the lack of sensitivity of the index, it has proved useful in corroborating other measures and is of some interest in itself. Table 5-5 shows the mean SEI mobility of workers in each occupational category at the time of the interview.

There are some interesting differences in the mean wage and mean SEI mobility by occupation. Craftsmen and foremen and drivers and operatives have done less well in SEI mobility than in wage mobility relative to white collar workers. Laborers have experienced a slight negative SEI mobility between their first and present jobs, despite achieving wage mobility nearly as great as operatives.

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[1] Albert J. Reiss, Jr., et al., Occupations and Social Status, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Appendix B.

Table 5-5

MEDIAN INCREASE IN SEI BY PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION

Occupation	Median Increase in SEI	Number	Percent Gaining
Professional, Tech. Manager, Proprietor	27.0	30	97
Clerical, Sales	22.5	12	92
Craftsmen, Foremen	16.0	74	77
Driver, Operative	5.2	309	72
Service	-0.1	30	43
Laborer	-1.6	30	20

(2) Industrial Mobility.

While industries cannot be ranked easily according to the relative desirability or social evaluation of each as can occupations, one can learn much by an examination of the pattern of shifts among industries made by workers between their first and present or last jobs in Michigan. Table 5-6 arranges the relevant data in the same manner used in displaying occupation mobility. Forty percent of the workers were, at the time of interview or when last employed before it, in the same industries as those in which they began work in Michigan, although a few may have held jobs in other industries in the interim. Those in motor vehicles and metals were least likely to have held first jobs in other industries. Workers in construction and non-durables showed the next highest stability of industry.

Table 5-6

PRESENT OR LAST JOB BY FIRST JOB IN MICHIGAN BY INDUSTRY

Present Job by Industry	First Job By Industry Agri-culture %	Construc-tion %	Metals %	Dur-ables %	Non-Durables %	Motor Vehicles %	Trans-portation Utilities %	Sales %	Ser-vices %	Percent of Total Total Number
Agriculture	19	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 23
Construction	6	35	2	3	4	1	0	9	6	7 43
Metals	16	9	56	17	29	9	37	18	20	24 145
Durables	10	6	9	32	3	1	13	2	2	7 43
Non-Durables	8	2	6	8	27	3	0	7	6	8 47
Motor Vehicles	28	36	12	30	29	80	25	43	25	37 224
Transportation Utilities	3	3	2	0	0	1	13	7	0	2 13
Sales	5	3	4	0	0	1	0	11	12	4 23
Services	4	4	6	3	4	3	6	0	16	5 29
Educational, Professional Services	1	0	2	8	4	2	6	2	14	3 20
Total %	100	100	101	101	100	101	100	99	101	101
Total Number	103	66	105	40	75	110	16	44	51	610
Percent of Total	17	11	17	7	12	18	3	7	8	100

Of those first employed in agriculture, about half (45%) obtained present or last jobs in metals or motor vehicles, essentially the automotive industry. Almost as many workers having first jobs in construction found present jobs in motor vehicle plants as remained in, or returned to, construction. Those 45 percent of workers who were originally in metals and shifted to other industries ended up primarily in motor vehicle and durable manufacturing. While those starting in durables switched overwhelmingly to the automotive industry, either in closely associated metal work or motor vehicle production.

Non-durables in the case of our sample has a high proportion of workers in food processing jobs which, relative to other jobs, pay fairly low wages. Therefore, the relatively low rate of retention of workers who took first jobs in this industry is not surprising. Indeed, equal proportions of such workers switch to metals and motor vehicles. Only about one of 10 workers first employed in sales was still in this industry at the time of the interview. Four of 10 had shifted to motor vehicles and another two of 10 to metals. Similarly, from first jobs in services, the shift was chiefly to motor vehicles (25%) and metals (20%).

Wage mobility by industry. Table 5-7 reveals considerable variation among industries of present or last jobs with respect to workers' median wage mobility from first to present jobs in Michigan. Workers in sales have experienced much greater wage increases on the average than those in any other industry. Since only one of 10 workers first employed in sales was presently so employed and the absolute number of workers at the time of interview was about half that originally employed in sales, it may be that low wage mobility workers have tended to leave first jobs in sales while others moved into sales from other lower paying industries.

Table 5-7

MEDIAN WAGE MOBILITY BY PRESENT OR LAST INDUSTRY

Industry	Median Weekly Wage Mobility	Number	Percent Gaining
Construction	$28.50	35	69
Metals	28.60	122	70
Durables	19.50	37	62
Non-Durables	7.60	35	63
Motor Vehicles	26.80	168	65
Transportation and Utilities	1.50	11	64
Sales	31.00	24	71
Services	2.50	29	55
Educational & Professional Services	14.00	19	63

Next highest are workers in construction and metals. At the next step are those in motor vehicles. Durable manufacturing workers rank next, then workers in educational and professional services. Finally, among those making some gain in real weekly wages between their first and present jobs, are workers in non-durable manufacturing and services. While the gain was slight among transportation and utilities workers, it was experienced by nearly two-thirds of them.

SEI mobility by industry. Table 5-8 reveals somewhat less variation of median socio-economic status mobility of workers by industry than Table 5-5 did among occupations. Sales, motor vehicle and durable manufacturing workers have made much greater gains between their first and present or last jobs in Michigan, than those in other industries. Educational and professional services workers rank next and the other industries are clustered together in the third rank except for construction which shows a slight loss among its workers. There is less congruence of wage and SEI mobility by industry than by occupation.

Table 5-8

MEDIAN SEI MOBILITY BY PRESENT OR LAST INDUSTRY

Industry	Median SEI Mobility	Number	Percent Gaining
Construction	-0.5	35	37
Metals	5.4	119	66
Durables	9.5	36	81
Non-Durables	2.0	36	56
Motor Vehicles	9.9	172	80
Transportation and Utilities	0.5	11	55
Sales	10.0	24	79
Services	2.9	29	62
Educational & Professional Services	7.0	19	58

(3) The Ex-Migratory Workers' Mobility Experience.

Occupational mobility and years in the stream. An examination of the mean number of years in the migratory stream between first and present jobs provides evidence of the greater upward mobility of those having fewer years. Table 5-9 shows this clearly. We find the same or a higher proportion of workers having some migratory farm labor experience in present or last jobs when compared to first jobs. When we consider the shifts in the total numbers in each occupational category between first and present jobs, we may conclude that those workers moving up from farm laborer, laborer and service jobs tended to be among those having fewer years in migratory labor. As a consequence, the mean years in the stream for the lower three occupations

Table 5-9

FIRST AND PRESENT JOBS BY OCCUPATION BY PERCENT OF WORKERS HAVING MIGRATORY FARM LABOR EXPERIENCE AND MEAN YEARS IN THE STREAM

Occupation	Total Number First Job	Total Number Present Job	Percent Migrant First Job	Percent Migrant Present Job	Mean Years in Stream First Job	Mean Years in Stream Present Job
Professional, Tech., Manager	11	33	19	42	0.3	1.9
Clerical, Sales	12	13	25	23	0.2	0.8
Craftsmen Foremen	36	88	42	52	3.5	2.9
Operative	309	393	57	56	3.1	3.0
Service	41	34	54	62	3.5	4.9
Laborer	129	40	60	67	3.4	5.1
Farm Laborer	85	20	59	65	4.9	8.7

increased as those with more years in the stream remained trapped in them while the mean years increased for the top two occupations as persons having more years moved into them. This is particularly true as a few former migratory farm laborers became proprietors. It is not the case that such workers moved into professional, technical or managerial jobs in any significant numbers. Apparently shifts into operative and craftsmen-foremen jobs were by workers having, on the average, about the same number of years of migrant farm labor as those who obtained first jobs in these categories.

That workers having fewer years of migratory farm work tended to be the ones moving up is confirmed by comparing the percent migrant in first and present jobs. While the number of craftsmen and foremen more than doubled, the proportion having migratory experience increased by 20 percent, but the mean years decreased by about 20 percent. Thus while more ex-migrants achieved jobs as craftsmen and foremen, they had, on the average, fewer years of experience than those who obtained these jobs immediately upon resettlement. Likewise since the percent of ex-migrants among operatives remained the same between first and present jobs while this category increased by about one-fourth, we must conclude that those entering had about the same background, on the average, as those who held first jobs as operatives. In contrast, we see that in the last three categories, the higher proportion of ex-migrants presently employed has raised the mean years considerably.

Wage and SEI mobility and migrant status. Is there a significant difference in the first to present job mobility among those having different exposures to farm and migratory farm labor? Table 5-10 provides the answer. The answer is positive in regard to changes in real weekly wages and negative

Table 5-10

MOBILITY EXPERIENCE BY PREVIOUS FARM WORK STATUS

	No Farm or Migrant Work After 16	Farm Work Only After 16	Migrant Farm Work Only After 16	Both Migrant and Local Farm Work After 16
Median Wage Mobility	$26.50	$8.00	$31.75	$0.75
Median SEI Mobility	6.5	5.5	5.9	5.0
N	153	73	176	93

with respect to SEI. Interestingly enough, the workers who have done migrant farm work only since the age of 16 have achieved the greatest median increase in real wages. Those workers having no farm labor experience of any kind have nearly the same increase, however. Those who have had some local farm work and those with both migrant and local farm work experience have made less gain in real wages, on the average, when we compare the wages of their first jobs with those of their present or last jobs.

What difference in mobility does it make, if any, whether the worker has done migrant farm labor in Michigan prior to settlement? Those workers who had not done work in the fields of Michigan before resettling there experienced a $20.60 median increase in real wages between their first and present or last jobs while those who have achieved a $26.25 median increase. On the other hand, the former category of workers attained a median SEI for present jobs which is 6.9 higher than that of their first ones in Michigan. The latter category did not equal this SEI mobility having present jobs only 4.6 above their first ones. Of course, this difference is not so great as that found in real wage mobility. And, if one must choose his means of mobility, money talks louder than SEI.

3. The Way They See It: Subjective Status Placement and Aspirations for the Future.

(1) Socio-economic Status Perception

Most Mexican American heads of household perceive their own socio-economic status as occupying a lower-middle position in their respective Michigan communities. On the one hand they tend to rank themselves as being considerably lower on the socio-economic scale than the average Anglo, but on the other they feel their status position to be higher than that of the Negroes in their communities. At the same time, however, Mexican Americans are generally optimistic about their opportunities and abilities to move up the socio-economic ladder in Michigan. Large numbers of them already have left behind much lower status positions in Texas or in Mexico, and they appear to feel that within a few years time they can bridge most of the status gap between themselves and the Anglos. Some Mexican Americans, they believe, have done so already. Moreover, most adults are highly optimistic regarding their children's opportunities for upward socio-economic mobility in Michigan. It may well be that this high level of aspiration for their children is one of the most crucial motivating forces among present-day adult Mexican Americans in Michigan.

Respondents rated their own socio-economic status, and that of other groups, using a 10-point scale on which a score of zero represented the lowest imaginable status and a score of nine the highest imaginable status. In this report the discussion of the results is limited to a description and comparison of the ratings given by the total male segment of the sample.

The mean status score at which male respondents placed the Mexican Americans in their communities is 4.6--approximately the mid-point of the ten-point scale. However, they ranked Michigan Anglos considerably higher at 6.2, while they gave the Negroes in their respective communities an average score of only 3.9. In terms of the shape of the distribution of scores for these three groups, only one-fifth (20%) of the respondents ranked Michigan Negroes as high status (six, seven, eight or nine); about one-fourth (27%) ranked their own group's status as high; but two-thirds (67%) gave high status rankings to Anglos.

It is interesting to note the average range within which the Mexican American perceives the varying socio-economic positions of the members of his own group. When asked to rank the status of the Mexican Americans in their communities who are "doing well," respondents scored such individuals an average of 6.0, still somewhat lower than the score they gave to the average Anglo in their communities. On the other hand, respondents scored the status of those Mexican Americans in their communities who are "not doing well" an average of only 2.5. Thus, it appears that the perceived range of their own status mobility at the present time is generally from low to middle only.

In the same average terms, perceived status mobility for the Mexican American who has settled in Michigan has been upward. Respondents ranked their own socio-economic status five years ago as only 3.3, while their average personal status rank today is 4.7. Moreover, Mexican Americans have widespread personal expectations for increased upward mobility, ranking their own expected status five years hence at 5.9. It is also significant, however, that their expected personal status in the near future is still lower than the average status score given to Anglos at the present time. Most Mexican American adults, it would appear, have few hopes of personally reaching or surpassing the socio-economic level of the average Michigan Anglo in the immediate future. However, it would seem that they fully expect their children to do so. When asked, "How high do you think it is going to be possible for the next generation of our people (the Mexican Americans) to go in this town?", respondents answered an average score of 6.9. Furthermore, seven out of ten (70%) of the individual replies were rankings of seven, eight or nine.

Table 5-11 summarizes these initial analyses of perceived socio-economic status and status mobility among the Mexican Americans in Michigan.

Table 5-11

PERCEIVED SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND STATUS MOBILITY

Contrast Category	Total Sample Mean Score[1]	Percent Scoring Item High (6, 7, 8, or 9)	Percent Scoring Item Low (0, 1, 2, 3, or 4)
Status of Negroes in current town of residence	3.9	20	63
Status of Mexican Americans in current town of residence	4.6	26	46
(if "doing well")	6.0	67	19
(if "not doing well")	2.5	5	90
Status of Anglos in current town of residence	6.2	67	14
Respondent's own status five years ago	3.3	13	70
(Status of Mexican Americans where respondent grew up--if place outside Michigan)	3.3	12	74
Respondent's own status today	4.7	27	42
Respondent's expected status five years hence	5.9	62	22
Expected maximum status for next generation of Mexican Americans in respondent's town	6.9	82	10

[1] Based on a 10-point rating scale, in which a score of 0 represents the lowest imaginable socio-economic status, and a score of 9 represents the highest imaginable status. Data are for male heads of household only.

Subjective status mobility. We have noted that in comparing their status five years before to that at the time of the interview, our male respondents as a group experienced an increase from 3.3 to 4.7. Not every household head, however, viewed his mobility positively. While 60 percent believed they had improved their position in life compared to that of five years ago, 27 percent perceived no change and 13 percent reported that they thought they were better off earlier and had lost in status. Who were the gainers, losers and stable respondents? The following tables provide some indication. While at least half of the workers in all occupational categories have experienced upward mobility during the five years preceding the interview, those in white collar occupations appear most satisfied with their progress while those in laboring jobs have least feeling of moving ahead in obtaining the good things of life. Indeed, one-fifth of them report that they have lost ground. About one-fourth of each category have felt no change in their position.

Table 5-12

SUBJECTIVE MOBILITY BY PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION

Subjective Mobility	White Collar %	Craftsmen & Foremen %	Operatives %	Service %	Laborer %
Downward	2	11	11	12	20
Same	24	31	26	29	27
Upward	74	58	64	59	53
Total %	100	100	101	100	100
Total N	46	88	393	34	60

What is the relation between having a feeling of moving ahead and past experience in agriculture? Table 5-13 suggests that there is little.

Table 5-13

SUBJECTIVE MOBILITY BY FARM WORK AFTER AGE 16

Subjective Mobility	Neither	Migrant or Farm Work		
		Farm Work Only	Migrant Work	Both
	%	%	%	%
Downward	7	16	10	16
Same	30	18	28	25
Upward	63	66	62	59
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	186	91	225	123

Apparently, those who settle in Michigan out of the migratory farm labor stream have about the same mobility experience, subjective perceived, as those who have never worked in agriculture. Further, our analysis indicates that those living in Michigan mostly before the age of 16 have only slightly more favorable experience than those in-migrating from Texas after that age.

How is the subjective assessment of mobility related to objective mobility as measured by a change in real wages from first to present or last job in Michigan. Table 5-14 displays a relationship weakly in the direction one would expect. The higher the wage mobility the more likely the worker is to have a feeling of upward mobility during the last five years and the less likely he is to have one of decline. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find again the remarkably stable proportion (between one-fourth and one-third) of workers reporting no sense of upward or downward change regardless of real wage mobility.

Table 5-14

SUBJECTIVE MOBILITY BY WAGE MOBILITY

Subjective Mobility	Real Wage Mobility in Michigan Downward %	 Same %	 Low Upward %	 High Upward %
Downward	13	10	12	8
Same	29	33	22	25
Upward	58	57	66	68
Total %	100	100	100	101
Total N	163	136	141	130

(2) The Good Life

The concept of status is a highly subjective one for the layman. It often connotes quite different things for different individuals, just as different people have diverse goals in life. One person may not necessarily agree as to what another feels constitutes the "good life". In order to explore these subjective feelings among Mexican Americans, and to isolate some of the important components which they feel constitute a person's status, respondents were asked the following question:

> "All of us want certain things in life. Think for a moment about what really matters to you. Then describe for me the best life you can imagine. Assume that you could have everything just as you want it. What would the best life be like for you?"

Four attributes appear to be of central concern to Mexican American heads of household if they are to achieve a "good life". These are:

Housing: to have adequate or comfortable living quarters, or to own their own home (mentioned by 36%).

Education: particularly for their children (mentioned by 34%).

Job or career: to continue working steadily, to have a trade or to have their own business (mentioned by 34%).

Health and a long life: both for self and family (mentioned by 32%).

These four areas of concern for the Mexican Americans in Michigan may, perhaps be considered their primary "value areas"--those concerns toward which the major part of their attention is focused and to which a preponderant share of their energies is devoted. And it would appear that they are similar to those areas of concern which, in the United States, have widely come to be identified as "middle class values" among the white, Anglo-Saxon population.

Secondarily, Mexican Americans perceive a good life for themselves as one in which they are free from money problems or perhaps even wealthy (25%), or as having life's "necessary" material goods or specific consumer goods such as a new car, etc. (21%).

Finally, although much lower in priority, they feel that the "good life" implies that one be personally virtuous (e.g. to be a "good Christian") and to have good friendships and social relationships with other people (15%), or to have ample leisure time for relaxing or travel or even to be able to retire and rest (12%).

Status and the "good life" for most Mexican Americans adults is heavily family-oriented. They value the above-mentioned goals not just for themselves, but for their families as well. In fact, more than half (55%) of the respondents specifically remarked in answer to this question that all or a part of these attributes of the "good life" were desired for their families. Only one out of three (34%) neglected to mention his family in this context, or stated specifically that his wishes for the future related only to himself.

Given the personal focus of the question, it is not surprising that most respondents desires were framed in terms of themselves or their families. However, about one in fourteen (7%) went beyond this more restricted framework of concern, insisting that a "good life" must include such nation- or world-wide conditions as the "brotherhood of man", "peace on earth", etc.

(3) Aspirations for Children

Specific questions were asked to probe further the content of respondents' educational and occupational aspirations for their children. Nearly nine out of ten (88%) would like to see a son have a college education, while only one in ten (11%) felt that high school would be sufficient. Aspirations for daughters are somewhat lower; three-quarters (77%) would like to see a daughter go to college, while two out of ten (21%) feel that a high school education is sufficient. Significantly, no more than one percent think that anything less than a full high school education is adequate for either a son or daughter.

Given the high educational aspirations which Mexican American fathers have for their sons, it is not surprising that they have high occupational aspirations for them as well. Seven out of ten (72%) want their sons to have a professional career of some kind. Among the most frequently mentioned professions were lawyer, physician, engineer and school teacher. An additional one out of ten (10%) would like to see a son become a manager or proprietor of a business, and a similar proportion (11%) would like their sons to become craftsmen, principally in the building trades or in mechanics. Less frequently mentioned occupational aspirations for a son were clerical and sales work (3%), truck drivers (2%), and service workers such as policeman or fireman (2%). Significantly, only one out of the nearly seven-hundred respondents said that he would like to see a son of his work in agriculture, and in this case it would be as a farm owner, not as a laborer.

Mexican American fathers also desire their daughters to have careers. Nearly two-thirds (64%) said that they would like a daughter to have a lifetime career or occupation to work at even after she gets married. One-third (34%) said that they would like their daughters to work only temporarily until such a time as she marries. Only 2 percent prefer that their daughters have no career or occupation, either before or after she marries.

Chapter 6

POLICY AND RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings we have reported here are more descriptive than analytical in most cases. This is partially due to the fact that little was known about the population studied prior to this research. Having learned something of the characteristics of the Mexican-American households in Michigan and the communities of which they are a part, we find that finally we have arrived at the position at which good analytical research begins. That is, we feel that we can at last frame some fairly critical questions upon which further research relevant to manpower concerns might be focused. This is not to say that the present findings provide no basis for recommendations regarding manpower programs. Quite the contrary, we believe that the findings presented here have done much to clear the ground for more realistic and specifically focused programs for dealing with the migration of Mexican-Americans from Texas to the Midwest and the transition from agricultural to urban-industrial labor. First, we will list these recommendations and then suggest some research needs for the development of job training and labor mobility programs for Mexican-Americans involved in the Texas-Midwest migration channel.

1. Policy Recommendations Regarding Mexican-American Labor Mobility, Training and Job Placement Programs.

From the beginning and throughout the course of this research project, we have been aware that in many respects the Michigan and Midwestern subpopulation of Mexican-Americans can be roughly considered as composed of two distinguishable segments having somewhat different problems. Most visible are those families which have recently dropped out of the migratory farm labor stream and are encountering major problems in settling in to a new urban-industrial environment. These are the families about whom newspaper articles are written during the winter months as they often attempt to survive their first Michigan winter in un-winterized migrant housing. These are the families who make a significant impact upon the schools and private and public welfare agencies in the smaller communities in which they often spent their first years. To the general public in the Midwest, Mexican-American is synonymous with migrant. Much less well-known is that growing population of settled migrants of several years or more of residence and second-generation Midwesterners of Mexican-American ethnicity who have overcome the major obstacles to permanent residence in the Midwest and who are increasingly making important contributions to their communities. Though not without problems, this settled population has fewer and somewhat different problems than the newly settling ex-migratory farm workers. Therefore, as we discuss recommendations, it is useful to treat these two segments separately even though there is no clear division between them in characteristics or problems and the transition from one category to the other is gradual in the experience of each family. We shall call the first category "the settlers" and the second "the settled."

(1) Recommendations Regarding Settlers

General comments. Changing residence from one region of the country to another and shifting from one occupation or industry or even one employer to another are each in themselves transitions of considerable stress to most families. Undertaking them concurrently, Mexican-American families moving into the Midwest, largely from Texas, face double difficulties compounded further by the families' large size and extremely low level of supporting resources commonly called upon during such transitions. Often the situation is further complicated by the family members' deficiency in English-language competence. Simultaneously, the family must find adequate housing, the male head and perhaps the wife and other members of the family must find new jobs, the children must enter new schools, food and clothing must be obtained from new sources, and, last but not least, new sustaining interpersonal and institutional affiliations must be formed, all in an unfamiliar environment. Even when the move is between communities of roughly similar size, they differ in many important respects. When the move is from rural or small communities or from the encapsulated "barrios" of San Antonio or medium-sized communities, the lack of experience in an urban-industrial milieu may be critical.

Since it may safely be predicted that employment opportunity and wage differentials will continue to exist and perhaps even widen between South Texas and the Midwest, it may also be predicted that the migration of Mexican-Americans in the Texas-Midwest channel will persist if not increase. Add to this the increasingly rapid displacement by mechanization and crop shifts of seasonal migratory farm laborers depending upon Midwestern employment for a part of the year to maintain the delicately articulated migratory cycle and even greater pressure for resettlement may be foreseen. Therefore, the recently fashionable concept of "guided migration" seems most pertinent to the problems of the population concerned here. What is clearly necessary is to rationalize and cushion the stresses of the resettlement process both for the benefit of the migrating family and for maximizing of manpower resources. With regard to the latter benefit, we hasten to point out that the Mexican-American worker should be considered as much a manpower resource in the Midwest as much as or, perhaps more than, a manpower problem. We will discuss below in detail some of the ways in which we believe the unique work experience, preferences and commitments of many ex-migratory farm workers provide an important resource for filling new manpower requirements, particularly those associated with the mechanization of agriculture. Let us look first at some of the aspects of migration which appear to be amenable to programs of action.

Guided migration. Who should migrate, when, where and how? Certainly our data do not permit definitive answers to these questions, but some reasonable tentative conclusions can be reached. Further research is discussed below regarding more adequate answers to these questions. It would seek to identify the characteristics of the successful migrants as contrasted with those who try to settle and fail and those who desire to settle but cannot do so. Pending more specific findings, however, the following suggestions may be made:

1) The most successful migrants are likely to be those who are relatively young, certainly under 40, with smaller than average families, higher than average education, relatives or friends in the areas of resettlement, and occupational skills and preferences conforming to the demands of the local labor market in the area of resettlement.

Of course, these are also characteristics which will differentially account for the relative success of such families even among those staying in Texes. Nevertheless, guided migration programs ought to encourage those to migrate who have the highest probability of benefiting from the move and who have the greatest resources for accomplishing it successfully. It is worth emphasizing here that Mexican-Americans tend to move in the migratory stream as family units and tend likewise to resettle as such. Two-thirds of the family heads interviewed settled in family units; 50 percent as head of a nuclear family, 17 percent in a two or three generational family. The Ling-Temco-Vought job training and guided resettlement experiment in Texas appears likely to confirm the importance of the move of complete family units in the resettlement process. The size of the family is important not only in terms of the strain placed upon financial and other resources but at least as importantly in respect to the opportunity for obtaining housing. We have been forced to conclude that the lack of low income housing of sufficient capacity is the primary impediment at the present time to resettlement. The problem in finding housing is not so much discrimination against Mexican-Americans because of ethnicity, although it exists, but the more general discrimination against large families. Many cases came to our attention during this research in which good jobs had been lined up but lack of adequate, or even inadequate, housing, precluded the resettlement of the family. Clearly, no amount of attention devoted to the facilitation of job training and placement in migration will be of benefit until some improvement in the availability of housing is accomplished. This leads to the question of the relative desirability of destination communities in terms of the availability of jobs, housing, and other amenities. To what places should migration be directed? There has been much emphasis upon the misallocation of much south to north migration because of the disproportionate concentration in already overcrowded metropolitan areas. It has been suggested that because of the high visibility and the gravity pull of large minority subcommunities in a few major cities, middle-sized and smaller communities have failed to absorb the proportion of migrants warranted often by their employment needs. Among Mexican-Americans, we believe this to be somewhat less the case than among Negroes for two reasons primarily. First, there is somewhat less discrimination against Mexican-Americans in the Midwest, especially when the proportionate number is small, and secondly, Mexican-American migratory farm workers have been located prior to settlement in rural and less densely populated areas near which they have tended to settle, at least, initially and often remain even while commuting to a larger city where more attractive employment may be available. Furthermore, we received the distinct impression during this research that many Mexican-American families prefer small-town living both because it is consistent with their past experience in the places of origin and because they find urban living disruptive of the values and patterns of family life that they cherish, particularly in respect to child rearing. On the other hand, we found as well a desire to be near other Mexican-American families and ethnic opportunities which made isolated farm or even village settlement undesirable. Nevertheless, with regard to the destination settlements of Mexican-American families, we would recommend that

> 2) given adequate employment opportunities for adult family members, migration should be encouraged and facilitated to smaller or middle-sized communities as an alternative to resettlement in major metropolitan areas.

Access to other Mexican-American families and facilities may be important for many families but we have noted a high degree of mobility in driving to wherever such may be available if absent in the local community. This should not be surprising among a population, a majority of whose members may have participated in the most mobile of all occupations available, namely, migratory farm work.

How should migration be facilitated? This question is particularly appropriate in the case such as this **in which geographical mobility is almost** necessarily linked with occupational and socio-economic mobility. In order to resettle successfully, the migrant must, in most instances, shift to a new occupation requiring skills and habits different from his present one. One kind of mobility cannot be facilitated without parallel enhancement of the other. If retraining is to be involved, then the question arises as to whether it should be accomplished among intended migrants in the place of origin or among actual migrants at the place of destination. We suggest the following for consideration, especially in light of further research:

> 3) preparation for migration, especially when training is necessary, should be accomplished in the place of origin where feasible as well as, or in addition to, facilitation of settlement in the place of destination.

We believe that areas of out-migration are sufficiently apparent in the case of Mexican-Americans as to make preparation for migration at the probable place of origin economically feasible and socially desirable. Costs would be lower due to level of living differences. Bilingual Mexican-American personnel for staffing would be more readily available. And, finally, placement could be more rational if cooperation between employment services of the sending and receiving states or communities could be developed. There are, of course, serious obstacles to such training in the place of origin. First, it would require cooperation of local authorities in some communities in which the Mexican-American migratory labor force is a valued resource for seasonal employment complementing the northern migratory season. In harsher terms, it may be described as a captive labor force caught in a cycle of marginal employment, no part of that cycle being capable or willing to pay more than marginal wages. In such communities, particularly smaller rural-based ones, any program explicitly aimed at facilitating out-migration will encounter formidable obstacles. In larger cities such as Brownsville, Laredo, Corpus Cristi or San Antonio, such a program might meet less resistance and even elicit cooperation if it could be shown to relieve local problems resulting from underemployment or unemployment. Certainly the present cooperation between the state employment security offices of Michigan and Texas with regard to the scheduling of migrant agricultural labor each season suggests that, given more aggresive job search activity on the receiving end of the channel, migration might be successfully guided to the places having the greatest need and, if possible, the greatest capacity to absorb new workers and their families. If direct recruitment of Mexican-American workers for the sugar beet and metal industries of Michigan was successful before and during World War II, why could not similar efforts be made by state employment offices? This, combined with basic education or up-grading and job training would greatly enhance the migrant families' chances of a successful and rapid adjustment in their new environments.

Finally, guided migration assumes some facilitation of resettlement on the receiving end of the channel. In this regard, we strongly suggest that programs be developed particularly fitted to the needs of the Mexican-American migrant:

4) use should be made both in preparation for migration and in facilitating settlement of the ethnic interpersonal and institutional bonds of the families involved.

The experience of relocation of the Cuban refugees from Florida provides an example of guided resettlement which is worth considerable study in preparation of such a program for Mexican-American South Texas residents. One of the most striking features of this effort has been the central role of religious organizations. The large-scale organization with which Mexican-Americans seem to deal most effectively in Michigan is the Catholic Church.

This is explainable in that most of them are Catholics and have related to the church elsewhere throughout their lifetimes. There are several Catholic priests and lay administrators who have been interested and active in working for the benefit of Mexican-Americans and migrant farm workers in Michigan and some of these persons have worked very effectively with Mexican-Americans in the communities. Some constructive predominantly Mexican-American institutions are church related, such as credit unions in at least two cities, community centers, and other community-level organizations.

Mexican-Americans do not have such satisfactory relationships with many other Anglo-dominated institutions, such as school systems. We find very low rates of Mexican-Americans on welfare, so that is not an agency system which is highly used by them. We find them not using other agencies which are available to them, such as the state employment service. We find them in complicated and sometimes conflicted relationships with some community action programs.

On the positive side, it would seem that, building strength upon strength, the Catholic church and its ancillary agencies should be brought into programs for Mexican-Americans in a major way. This would seem to be a strategy of directing services or communications to the Mexican-Americans through a channel which has proven to be acceptable to them. The major drawback in this idea is that the Church is an Anglo-dominated institution and might be resented by Mexican-Americans as paternalistic. Nonetheless, many within the Church bureaucracy are aware of this problem and would be likely to put as much control and responsibility in the hands of members of the community as possible.

In regard to the use of Catholic-sponsored or originated programs, one caveat is in order. While we were prevented from taking religious affiliation and participation systematically into account in our survey, we have noted in other aspects of the study that a quite substantial portion of the Mexican-American population is either Protestant or unaffiliated or non-conforming Catholic. Estimated roughly, this may range from 15 to 30 percent of the population of any community. While many such families might, nevertheless, take advantage of Catholic-affiliated community programs, most would very likely not do so. Thus secular-based alternatives should be provided even in areas having strong Catholic church supported programs.

Since the beginning of this research several years ago, we have noted the growing number and increasing strength of board-based Mexican-American and Latin American organizations both at the community and state level. Such organizations as La Raza Unida and local councils have captured the increasing enthusiasm and "chicano" awareness of Mexican-Americans and have the potential of becoming effective foci for program development. Chicano-oriented youth programs will provide important opportunities for linking newcomers into existing programs and for developing new ones.

In brief, policy makers and those responsible for program implementation should be aware not only of the existing institutional bonds of Mexican-Americans but also of those developing in emerging organizations. We have been very impressed during the last two years by the dynamism of the Mexican-American populations in the cities in which our survey was conducted.

As far as the other agencies with which Mexican-Americans have less satisfactory relationships are concerned, the problem is one of agencies' managing to adapt themselves to better serve Mexican-Americans in ways that would be acceptable to this client population. One of the most rapid and effective ways of doing this is the recruitment and training of Mexican-Americans as sub-professionals to mediate between the agency professionals and their Mexican-American clients. It goes without saying that the recruitment of full professionals of Mexican-American background is urgent but this is a longer term solution. The need is immediate and, we believe that the competence and commitment is present among Mexican-American residents, many of whom are currently less effectively employed in less satisfying work than that which would be involved in sub-professional occupations.

Needs of settlers-in. While resettlement in Michigan is sometimes carefully planned with arrangements for housing and sometimes jobs being made in advance through relatives and friends already resident in the community of destination, more often it is relatively spontaneous and unplanned. This is particularly true of dropouts from the migratory farm labor stream. Often information regarding the possibility of a job may be obtained from someone else while in the field or perhaps the farmer consents to the family's staying on in his housing rent-free or provides a month or so extra work beyond the season for a few families. All too frequently, the family may have bad luck in getting enough work because of weather or other vicissitudes affecting migratory farm work and consequently have too little earnings to permit returning to Texas where it typically will have been in debt prior to leaving for the work in the stream. Thus it is these "spontaneous" and often "unintentional" dropouts who are most in need of aid in getting settled. They are often without friends or relatives in the communities near their last field work and therefore must rely upon the farmer who employed them, local agencies, or agencies or programs specifically directed at migrant problems.

In Michigan, Michigan Migrant Opportunities, Inc., sponsored jointly by the Michigan Catholic Conference and the Michigan Council of Churches and recipient of a series of grants under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 began work with migrants in the camps in the summer of 1965. Programs were directed at problems in the camps such as education, day care for children, health and legal aid. The agency was specifically limited to assistance of migrants in the stream but its personnel observed the problems of settling out and, in 1968, under a new grant from the Migrant Division of O.E.O., it was reorganized as United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc. and began to work with settlers out of the stream on a year-round basis. Religious bodies also have had workers in the camps who have attempted in so far as possible to aid in the settling out process. In the summer of 1969, a State Committee on Inter-Agency Cooperation for Migrants sponsored two centers to maximize agency services for migrants settling out. Thus progress is being made in the direction of developing programs to facilitate successful settling out. The experience of these agencies and programs provides an invaluable resource for future program planning in this area. Similar activities are underway in other Midwestern states but it is our impression that those of Michigan are somewhat advanced over others. We recommend strongly that

5) any programs for guided migration and resettlement of migratory farm workers in the Midwest make use of the valuable experience accumulated by previous smaller-scale efforts in assistance to migrants settling out of the stream.

In addition, we would like to emphasize the increasing availability as a result of experience in these programs of highly dedicated and committed Mexican-American personnel who have proved to be highly effective in the human relations aspects of assisting migrant families. In our view such personnel are essential to any program seeking to work with Mexican-American migrants since these families are used to working with other people of similar culture and background not with impersonal bureaucracies. Not only is bilingualism necessary for such personnel, but also the experience of having been a migrant and having settled out successfully is quite helpful. The increasing number of Mexican-American ex-migratory workers in the Midwest who have successfully upgraded their education and have accumulated valuable experience in community organization and family assistance, often informally through their unpaid private efforts, constitute an indispensable human resource for future programs of migrant settlement facilitation.

New opportunities in industrializing agriculture. With increasing mechanization in this region and the consequent diminishing size of the projected seasonal agricultural labor force, we recommend:

> 6) the development of programs by which migrant field workers can learn the necessary mechanical skills to continue in agricultural work in new positions.

This has been attempted on a small scale in Michigan and merits further testing. Essentially, what it involves, in terms of job training, is teaching the migrants to operate or service farm machinery.

This is an attractive strategy because there is a need in agriculture in this region for year-round farm workers with mechanical skills and because some of the Mexican-Americans like agricultural work and rural living and would not be averse to continuing in it at a higher wage level with better living conditions. One misconception commonly held concerning Mexican-American migrant farm workers is that they have a low level of mechanical aptitude. Our survey data indicate that this is not the case: many of the respondents indicated that they have mechanical skills which they do not use in their current jobs. The presence of the majority of Michigan Mexican-Americans in factory work indicates that they are capable of employment involving machinery.

In addition to the training of ex-migrant workers to perform specific mechanical tasks, many would also need some social services to assist them in operating in a new environment, particularly in smaller rural communities.

In terms of the ordinary way in which migrants enter and become acculturated in new communities, this attempt to open mechanical farm work to Mexican-Americans has at least one major drawback. That is, living on dispersed farms as "hired hands" the individual migrant families would be deprived of the social support and other functions that derive from living within an ethnic subcommunity or within a network of others of their background. However, we might find the dispersed farm families making their own substitute arrangements for the functions of the barrio. While we believe that programs working with Mexican-American ex-migratory workers must be solicitous of their needs and particular cultural background, we do not wish to give the impression that they are so completely integrated into a Mexican-American subculture as to be unwilling or unable to "survive" outside an urban Mexican-American subcommunity. We have been impressed by their adaptability and by the strength derived from the coherence of the family unit in rural and small town settings. Therefore, we do not anticipate that new settlers especially will be unresponsive to new opportunities for agricultural employment at higher levels of skill and remuneration.

One thing which should be kept in mind, however, regarding rural settlement and agricultural employment is the need or desirability of providing employment opportunities for wives and other family members. We have noted that one-third of the wives of our male respondents are presently employed. Rural opportunities for female employment may be fewer than in urban areas, although the opportunity of part-time farming activity in a rural setting might provide some unpaid agricultural employment for wives and other family members. In any case, it is always necessary to consider the family as a whole in any program of retraining and guided settlement.

Complementary part-time employment in seasonal farm labor. While there is growing recognition that the migratory way of life is socially undesirable and economically marginal, the need for unevenly distributed amounts of labor in certain crops will remain. Either such labor must be recruited locally or within commuting distance of the farms or farmers must switch to other crops as the supply of migratory labor decreases as it must as the cycle of work is broken by selective mechanization. In discussing the employment transition from migratory farm labor to urban industrial labor, we pointed out that among a significant number of families, part-time seasonal farm labor persists as an income supplement some years after settlement. This may be a matter of wives and elder children working during peak harvest periods while the husband continues his industrial job or of the whole family returning to farm work during vacations, change-over lay-offs in motor vehicle plants or, in some cases, even on weekends. This resource of intrastate seasonal farm labor provides an increasingly important supplement to the seasonal labor force which will continue to be required at peak periods or regularly during certain weeks in crops not now or foreseeably subject to mechanization. We recommend that

> 7) some experiments should be undertaken in systematically linking ex-migratory farm workers and members of their families desiring part-time farm employment to opportunities for such employment.

While families settling out near areas in which they last worked in agriculture will have contacts with farmers nearby for whom they worked, those families settling in more distant urban areas may have little awareness of part-time agricultural employment nearby or of other opportunities further away. Therefore, some of the recruiting and placement efforts now focused on inter-state migrants by employment offices might be redirected toward the placement of intra-state farm laborers.

Income maintenance during resettlement. A final recommendation regarding problems of resettling migrants, particularly dropouts from the migrant stream, concerns the problem of a decline of income or insufficiency of income to meet the increased needs resulting from resettlement. A well-known characteristic of migrant families is that of their working together both in the stream and in communities of origin. The wife and older children contribute to the total family income in the field and may do so in agricultural employment back home or perhaps the wife may work in food processing for several months if not in the field. The multiple-earner character of the Mexican-American family tends to breakdown during resettlement and despite the often much higher individual earnings of the male head, the total family income may decline particularly because of the wife's inability to find work or the husband's unwillingness to have her work in an urban-industrial environment. At the same time, the needs of the family are greatly increased. Warmer clothes are needed to withstand the winter weather. Living costs in general are likely to be much higher. And finally, debts accumulated during winter months of sporadic employment must be paid. Therefore, the most important single form of assistance that could be provided the family settling out would be an income supplement. We recommend that

> 8) low-interest "settlement" loans and/or relocation payments to supplement income during the first year or so of settlement be provided to needy dropouts from the migrant stream.

We believe this would be a very worthwhile investment in most cases and would greatly accelerate the process of adjustment to the new environment. It would allow older children to remain in school by providing them with needed clothes and relieving them from the necessity to work and would likewise enable the wife to remain in the home with younger children during this critical period. It would avoid the frequently encountered paradox of the lowering of the level of living of the family as the husband triples his wages in a new job.

(2) Recommendations Regarding the Settled.

Those ex-migratory workers and direct migrants who have been resident in Michigan communities for several years are not without problems but their problems are somewhat different than the immediate problems encountered during the first year of settling out. In one sense the emergency problems of the new settlers are easier both to see and to deal with. The longer-term problems of the settled Mexican-American are less visible and more complex. They are concerned chiefly with the opportunities for upward mobility in housing, employment, education, and with the coherence and identity of the family and the ethnic subcommunity. They relate not only to the family head but also to the opportunities for his children.

Employment upgrading. The problem of mobility in employment takes two forms: occupational or skill-level shifts between jobs and promotion within the same job. The former has been the concern of manpower retraining programs from their beginning and would seem to require little comment here except to emphasize our finding that in general, Mexican-Americans seem to be found in the lower levels of skill and income in most of the industries in which they are found. This is not surprising given the average level of education and non-industrial background of this group of workers. Nevertheless, it suggests the need for continued attention to the retraining and skill upgrading of this segment of the labor force in manpower programs. In this regard, we do have one recommendation stemming from our observations, namely:

> 9) Job training programs involving Mexican-Americans, particularly those having a high proportion of new settlers, should, where feasible, work with them in separate ethnically homogeneous groups and employ as instructors persons of Mexican-American background who are bilingual.

Discussions with those involved in training programs in the past have indicated that Mexican-American trainees have dropped out of training programs in which they were but a minority of the class in numbers far surpassing the proportion of dropouts of other ethnicity. Part of the difficulty has been with language where the instructor lacked the ability to communicate in Spanish but, perhaps equally important, has been the interpersonal relations aspect of the situation. Both of these problems would be lessened by bilingual Mexican-American personnel and homogeneous classes.

A second problem of upward employment mobility resides in the apparently below-average rate of promotion of Mexican-American employees to positions as foremen or to higher level jobs within a plant. We can make no definitive statements on this problem except to note that it is widely believed to be a problem among Mexican-American leaders. The reasons vary from attributions or discrimination in work assignments and promotions to lack of ability in English or low level of education. Certainly both of these are relevant but concrete information on the extent to which each plays a part is not available to our knowledge. In any case, where language or educational deficiencies inhibit normal promotion, adult education would seem to be indicated as a contribution to removing the blockage, particularly in the case of younger workers who have a substantial working career ahead of them. We would therefore recommend that

> 10) adult education be focused specifically upon enhancing the possibilities of promotion and job upgrading among younger workers and that a larger portion of the responsibility for the preparation of Mexican-American workers for promotion be vested with the employer as contrasted to general educational programs.

We suggest encouraging greater in-plant training by the employer for two reasons. Firstly, while general adult education is valuable in many ways, we believe that training for promotion linked directly to the requirements of specific job will have a greater payoff in more rapid promotion. Secondly, we believe that in the instances in which an employer has a substantial number of Mexican-American employees, it is in his own interest to accelerate the promotion of some of them to supervisory levels. Employer-employee relations are likely to be improved by such action and the loyalty of the employees to the firm increased.

There is one other aspect of maximizing upward mobility in the process of occupation, industry or employer shifts that requires attention. To the degree that Mexican-Americans are being allocated to "traditional" and often dead-end jobs either by their job search process or by discrimination in hiring, few changes of job will result in upward mobility. In this respect, we recommend

> 11) greater "outreach" is required by employment agencies and other organizations having placement responsibilities in attempting to overcome rigidities in the labor market which result in the underemployment of Mexican-Americans in terms of their skill levels, motivation or experience.

The job search process needs to be widened for Mexican-Americans. It is probably the case that, in the long run, employment diversification among Mexican-Americans will result in greater upward mobility. Certainly the wider the job search when shifting jobs, the greater the likelihood of finding a new job at a higher level of pay or skill. How significant an effect widening the job search has at relatively low levels of skill is unknown. However, it probably becomes more important as skill level and experience increases.

Entrepreneurial opportunities. The capacities of migrants to establish their own businesses in the new area of settlement is always severely limited initially. They have little capital for such purposes and are viewed as extremely bad credit risks due to their recency and lack of demonstrated stability of settlement. They have little knowledge of the business opportunities of the new community. Finally, if they are among the earlier migrants of their ethnic group to the community, they have few others of their category to serve in specialized ethnic-oriented businesses. However, as the size of the ethnic subcommunity grows and as the earlier settlers establish their permanency and increase their knowledge of local opportunities, they have increasing potential for successful entrepreneurial ventures. Usually, the problem or capital and credit remains acute. We note in Appendix A that there is considerable uneveness in the extent of Mexican-American business development in the communities studied. Surprisingly, this is not entirely related to the size of the local Mexican-American population. In our interviews and in our observations in these communities, we found considerable interest in entrepreneurship--in "wanting to be my own boss." We recommend that

> 12) activities of the Small Business Administration be strengthened to provide loans for business development among promising Mexican-Americans in Midwestern communities.

"Why should all the local Taco drive-in franchises go to gringos?" as one our respondents put it.

Housing. As we mentioned with respect to newly settling migrants, lack of housing seems most often to be the primary obstacle to settling out--a much more difficult one than securing employment. Housing remains a problem for the settled families as well, for not only low-cost housing for large families is scarce. As the income of the family rises and it has the capability of upgrading its housing, it continues to meet extreme shortages in housing. We were, at first, amazed by the high proportion of respondents who owned, or more typically, were buying single-family dwelling units, often on land contracts having very unfavorable terms. But considering the severe shortage of rental housing and its almost total non-availability to large families, we find this less surprising. Because of the scarcity of housing, settling and settled families are often forced into spending greatly disproportionate shares of their total family income on housing. Although this problem is outside the scope of Department of Labor programs, we believe that the housing problem often has such priority among those encountered in resettlement and continued residence that we wish to discuss it briefly and make several recommendations regarding possible ways of ameliorating this difficulty.

The migrant worker often owns or is buying a house in his Texas community of winter residence. Land is relatively inexpensive and, in many instances, the members of the family can do a substantial amount of their own construction work or renovation during the winter months, often expanding the capacity of the house with increasing family size. Living usually in areas peripheral to urban areas in which building codes are stricter or are somewhat more rigorously enforced, especially in respect to extreme violations, Mexican-American families have the opportunity to engage in the construction and modification of their houses with minimum inspection and code restrictions or tax reassessment for improvements. Furthermore, the climate permits much less expensive construction than that required in the Midwest. Contrast this to the situation prevailing in a Midwestern city. Once having found a house, the family is constrained by codes, licensing, inspection and higher construction costs and increased taxes from attempting any major expansion or improvement of its dwelling. Nor do the adult members of the family have the free time that was often available during the winter period of sporadic employment in Texas. Housing construction skills and motivation for self-help in housing upgrading thus go unused and housing deteriorates further. We recommend, therefore, that

13) provisions should be made through the modifications of inhibiting code or inspection requirements for the encouragement of self-help housing renovation by low-income owners and that tax increases be lessened or eliminated for certain types of improvements in low-income housing. Increased availability of home improvement loans at low rate of interest is also needed.

As families gain the capacity to move to better housing out of low-income areas of deteriorating housing, they often meet discrimination either because of their being Mexican-American or because of their large family size. In certain cities we found little discrimination and the dispersed pattern of Mexican-American residences corroborates this. In other communities, considerable discrimination is reported and the concentrated pattern confirms this. There have been extremely few cases of discrimination of any kind brought by Mexican-Americans to the attention of the State Civil Rights Commission but there are likely to be more in the future as the availability of the services of the commission become better known and as the militancy of Mexican-American residents increases. In the meantime, there is a need to

14) strengthen efforts against housing discrimination in local communities which may restrict the opportunities for Mexican-American families to upgrade their housing as their incomes increase.

Finally, the need for low and middle-income housing is so well-known that it is superfluous to make a recommendation in this regard. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize the especially acute need for such housing for large families which is not being met by many present housing programs, particularly those encouraging the development of multiple family dwelling units. One thing, perhaps worth pointing out, regarding the housing needs of Mexican-American families migrating to the Midwest is that the needs of this population are increasingly felt in the smaller and middle-sized communities which are often either unaware of the need or are unwilling to undertake federally-aided public housing programs of sufficient scale to be of much assistance. Thus, the burden falls alternatively on already overcrowded, larger metropolitan areas. We recommend, therefore, that

> 15) efforts should be made, particularly in small and middle-sized communities, to increase the capacities of local housing to absorb low-income in-migrants commensurate with the absorptive capacities of the local labor market.

This is, of course, particularly important for Mexican-American migration and resettlement because of a strong preference by a substantial proportion of this population for residence in small or middle-sized communities or, at least, a strong desire to avoid resettlement in the deteriorating areas of the larger metropolitan areas such as Detroit and Chicago.

Education. Whether because it is normative to do so in our society or because of great personal commitment, almost all of those interviewed indicated high educational and occupational aspirations for their children. Much that we have observed leads us to believe that there is, indeed, considerable appreciation of the critical role of education in achieving a higher level of living and more rewarding occupational statuses. This is manifested both by migrants in the field and by those who have settled. There is great concern about the extremely high dropout rate of Mexican-American youth from secondary schools and, especially by leaders, about the extraordinarily low rate of those continuing their education beyond high school and completing college. There are more opportunities arising for college-educated Mexican-Americans than there are persons so qualified. Within the last year or so, a number of Mexican-American organizations and universities in Michigan have initiated positive recruitment and financial aid programs to encourage more Mexican-American high-school graduates to continue their educations. Important as this may be, however, the educational situation of the Mexican-American remains critical, especially for the low-income recent dropout from the migrant stream.

The rise in income resulting from resettlement in Michigan is often impressive. We have noted a continuing rise in years of school completed inversely related to age among those interviewed. Over two generations the educational progress is substantial. The children of migrants are likely to have at least 10 years of education in comparison with their fathers' six. Nonetheless, this gain is insufficient to place younger Mexican-American workers anywhere else than beside their fathers in the factory. The present level of education being achieved in Michigan by the average Mexican-American youth, while perhaps twice that of his parents, is qualifying him only for the same semi-skilled jobs. Like Alice, he has had to run faster to stay at the same level. In order to achieve improvement in socio-economic status comparable to that achieved by his parents in the process of migration, he will have to run even faster than he now is. The achievement of higher levels of education is of significance not only to the Mexican-American youth himself but to his subcommunity as well. Occupational diversification, particularly resulting from a larger number of Mexican-American teachers, lawyers, doctors, social workers and local, state, and federal civil service and private agency personnel will greatly strengthen leadership and self-initiated and implemented development within the Mexican-American subcommunity.

The principal demand that seems to be common to most proposals made these days by Mexican-American leaders, whether in the Southwest or Midwest, is that special programs be developed exclusively tailored to the needs of Mexican-Americans. This is based upon the assertion that Mexican-Americans have a distinctive history and culture and language, all of which they seek to preserve in what has increasingly come to be acknowledged a pluralistic society. They emphasize that often the Mexican-American adult or child cannot perform adequately in educational and training programs developed primarily, if not exclusively, for another segment of the population, Black or White. We believe that our findings suggest some support for this point of view, particularly in respect to the problem of age-grade retardation of Mexican-American students. We believe that

> 16) special "head start" and, even more importantly, "catch up" programs should be developed in schools having substantial numbers of recent Mexican-American migrant children to prevent them from falling behind other children of their age.

The problem of education among Mexican-American youth in the Midwest we believe is not so much one of "dropout" but perhaps more one of "push-out" in the sense that continually dropping behind one's age-grade almost guarantees dropping out at the first opportunity. Programs aimed at returning the dropout to school after he has dropped out seem in most cases too little too late. Mexican-American students of all ages will be encouraged to stay in school to the degree that the curriculum and activities and interpersonal relations recognize them and their culture to be a part of that school and not a "foreign intrusion." Thus the development of such programs as the Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Study (Title III, ESEA) in Michigan schools and course materials on Mexican-American history and Mexican culture should be of considerable value.

So intensive is the interest in the preservation and development of the Mexican-American culture and establishment of a strong identification with it on the part of Mexican-Americans, especially the youth, that any training or educational program should include this aspect to increase motivation. Even if the needs of Blacks, Whites and Browns were the same in a particular program, it seems to us that in this increasingly pluralistic society, this melting-pot in reverse, much higher motivation will be achieved by breaking class down into ethnically homogeneous groups where feasible. This is particularly true in adult programs. Our observation of community programs ranging from community action programs against poverty to Model City participation groups strongly suggests that programs which fail to elicit strong Mexican-American participation when open to all comers in an area obtain the opposite response when developed by and for Mexican-American residents exclusively. The Mexican-American resident who remains silent at a public meeting in which only a few others of his group are present can become very articulate in a meeting of his own people. Nor is the problem always one of English ability.

In general, then, we would recommend that

17) programs which require active participation and commitment from Mexican-Americans should be, whenever feasible, composed exclusively by this group and involve them in positions of authority within it.

This has the additional advantage of providing a training ground for leadership which would not exist in integrated groups in which Blacks and Whites tend to dominate positions of leadership because of greater experience.

Family matters. The Mexican-American family is known to be a highly cohesive one. One of the major problems of resettlement, particularly in larger cities, is the breakdown of previous family norms under the impact of a multiplicity of new opportunities and demands. Inter-generational conflict is exacerbated by the variety of role models available to children and a decline of authority and ability to impose sanctions on the parent's part. Husband-wife conflict may develop over the wife's working or the distribution of income within the family. In any case, family helper services by Mexican-Americans for Mexican-American families are often needed beyond the simple provision of material necessities or income supplements. Unfortunately, few social agencies in the Midwest have bilingual personnel, much less those of Mexican-American background. In meeting this need there is an opportunity to create new careers at the sub or paraprofessional level. Unfortunately, the rigidities of our "qualification" society has thus far largely prevented this. We strongly recommend that

18) in Midwestern cities of high Mexican-American in-migration, new paraprofessional positions should be created for longer-resident and experienced Mexican-Americans who can mediate between professional agency personnel and new clients.

Ten percent of our sample turned out to be female heads of families having separate households. We had expected fewer because of the conventional wisdom that widowed, separated or divorced women, especially with young children, would tend to be found in relatives' households. About half of these women were receiving welfare and among these a substantial number were working as well. Were it not for the almost complete lack of child day care facilities at rates that could be afforded, it is likely that more women would prefer working to welfare. There is some reason to believe that there is less reluctance by Mexican-Americans to accept welfare and public agency assistance than had been previously thought to be the case. Interviews with both welfare personnel and Mexican-American leaders suggest that the attribution of unwillingness to accept public assistance to Mexican-Americans may be a result of the difficulties of serving this potential clientele without properly experienced bilingual staff members. We believe that much greater outreach can be obtained and better service provided if Mexican-American paraprofessionals can be recruited and trained. The need for such personnel is also apparent in police work and probation and parole both with regard to adult and juvenile offenders.

Leadership and community solidarity. Since the beginning of this study in the fall of 1966, we have noticed considerable change in the Mexican-American population of Michigan and in the particular communities studied. There appears to be a growing sense of ethnic identity, increasing unity at the leadership level, and a growing sense of purpose. Goals have been clearly formulated and demands have been made. While emphasis has been placed upon improvement of the conditions of migratory farm labor in Michigan, the cooperation developed in this direction has had the effect of strengthening the Mexican-American community in general. Communication among local activist groups has increased. A sense of increasing militancy permeates meetings and conferences. While this has received little or no public attention in the Midwest, it is likely to produce important results in the future. Perhaps the Mexican-American "revolution" in contrast to the "Black Revolution" may be called the "quiet revolution," for it is taking place now largely in the hearts and minds of individuals and in the interaction at gatherings. It is manifested by the increasing confidence and competence of leadership and by the increasingly open militance of youth. This is not to suggest that no problems of community solidarity and self-development remain. But it is important to recognize the change that is occurring in developing programs to ameliorate the still formidable problems faced by Mexican-Americans settling in the Midwest. The major consequence of this change is that more and better qualified leaders are available with whom to work within the Mexican-American community. The community possesses greater numbers of competent and dedicated individuals eager to enter into positions of responsibility in a variety of programs. We were particularly impressed by the response to a community workshop for Mexican-American leaders and potential leaders held in Lansing early in 1969 which we directed under an advisory board of Mexican-Americans. A group of over 30 met each Saturday morning for three hours for 10 weeks to discuss the nature of community organization, problems and strategies for their solution, and the relationship of the Mexican-American subcommunity to the total community of which it is a part. It is by no means certain whether they or we learned the most, but we are convinced that the leadership potential is growing and that this provides an important resource for program development previously less available. As in the case of the Black community, it will be not only possible but necessary in the future to develop programs affecting the Mexican-American community with its leaders and increasingly to staff such programs with Mexican-Americans.

2. Recommendations for Further Research.

Our recommendations for further research arise primarily out of the weaknesses or omissions of the present research or out of the difficulties encountered in undertaking it.

Considering that it is this nation's second largest minority, remarkably little is known of our Mexican-American population. Of what is known, almost all of it stems from the five Southwestern states for which Spanish surname data are available in the U.S. Census and in which almost all of the anthropological studies have been done. Prior to this research only one major survey study had been done in the Midwest, by Dr. Lyle Shannon in Racine, Wisconsin, and only one community study by Dr. Barbara Macklin in Toledo,[1] which is not even published. Recently a major book reporting the Mexican-American Study Project of the University of California at Los Angeles has been published.[2] This work, however, is based upon surveys made in Los Angeles and San Antonio.

Need for census data. Not having Spanish-surname census data was a considerable handicap in designing both the content and the sample of this research. We strongly support efforts to

1) present ethnic sample data for Spanish speaking in publications of the 1970 U.S. Census of Population and Housing for Midwestern states (at least Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio) as well as for the five Southwestern states for which it has been provided.

This is the most important single step that could be taken both for purposes of learning more of the Mexican-American population of the Midwest in general and for policy and program planning.

Metropolitan research. Because of the limitations of time and funds and the overwhelming problem of adequate pre-listing of purposes of sampling, the Metropolitan area of Detroit was omitted from this study. This was serious both because we estimate that area to contain perhaps half of the Mexican-American population of the state and because we believe that there may be important differences between the findings based upon the population in the smaller metropolitan areas and middle-sized communities and those which might be obtained in cities such as Detroit or Chicago. Therefore, we recommend that

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[1] Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican-American Community, University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D., 1963.

For a listing and brief discussion of materials relevant to this report, see Mexican-Americans in the Midwest: An Annotated Bibliography prepared under our direction by Nancy Saldana. A limited number of copies are available published as Special Paper No. 10 (July 1969) by the Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University.

[2] Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, The Mexican-American People, New York: The Free Press, 1970.

2) a survey research study should be conducted of the Mexican-American population of Detroit or Chicago replicating some of the more important aspects of the present research.

If Spanish-surname data are made available for the Midwest, at least the demographic data would be available from that source without the expense of a survey. Apparently, Chicago has become the "Mecca" for illegal entrants from Mexico who are smuggled directly there and gain employment in steel, landscaping and other industries requiring unskilled labor. Some firms there seem to have made more progress in overcoming the language barrier by employing Spanish-speaking supervisory personnel. This suggests that when the incentive is sufficient language becomes less of a barrier to hiring Spanish-speakers than some employers insist. Apparently, the Mexican-American population is rapidly becoming one of Chicago's largest ethnic population. This underlines further the need for more research on the Mexican-American population of the Midwest. Migration may otherwise greatly outrun our knowledge. It should be kept in mind that the presence of a substantial proportion of illegal immigrants in a population will make adequate listing, sampling and interviewing of that population extremely difficult because of the desire for anonymity of those attempting to avoid repatriation. We worried a bit about this in sampling Michigan but we found no reluctance which could be attributed to this source. Perhaps we would have found more in Detroit. It is very unlikely that illegal immigrants will settle outside major metropolitan areas because of the problems of avoiding detection, lack of knowledge of opportunities, and of contacts in small and middle-sized cities. Given the very high predilection of Mexican-Americans to migrate as family units, we would hypothesize that the greater the proportion of single adult males, the greater the proportion of illegal immigrants.

Apart from a major survey effort in a city such as Detroit or Chicago, much of value could be learned by more intensive studies of such subjects as job search process, the process of settling in, neighborhood organization, and labor force experience.

Processual research. Had we more time in mounting the survey research undertaken in this project, we would like to have engaged in exploratory studies in the communities over a period of time to observe the process of settling out prior to developing a cross-sectional survey. Doing so would have focused the interview and sharpened the questions considerably. Unfortunately much that would have been learned in this way was learned concurrently with the survey work and therefore could not be incorporated into its design. While we believe the survey data to be indispensable for estimating parameters and distributions of variables in the total population, we also see a significant role being played by smaller, in-depth studies over time focused upon particular processes.

For example, a study of how Mexican-American workers came to be employed at a new automobile plant in an area having relatively few Mexican-Americans previously. How did they learn of the jobs? Did they come from either locations in Michigan or directly from Texas? What has been the process of their settlement in a new area of residence and that of adjustment to a new job? What kind of occupational and industrial employment histories do they have? This kind of study can be of considerable value to those concerned with job placement, labor mobility and guided migration. From the beginning, we have assumed that the necessary basis for program development is to learn first what the "natural process" involved is in the target population and then develop techniques for reducing the dysfunctional aspects and facilitating the functional ones. We must learn how people attempt to cope with problems before we can help them to cope with them. We recommend that

> 3) research support should be provided for focused processual studies to supplement findings of census and survey research.

Panel research. The development of programs to aid families settling out of the migrant farm labor stream and the growing interest in guided migration provides an efficient framework for the design of panel studies of a sample of such families over the first year or two of their experience in new communities. Agencies working with settling families at the time of leaving the migratory stream collect much baseline data regarding them. A sequence of interviews spaced over a year or more and focused on certain aspects of adjustment could trace the pattern of experience over time. Such research would provide extremely valuable longitudinal data to supplement the cross-sectional data of one-time surveys. Too few evaluation studies are undertaken to run concurrently with the activities being evaluated. *Ex post facto* studies must rely upon retrospective data, seldom have adequate baseline data, and usually are based largely upon those experiencing a successful outcome, the dropouts having been lost along the way. It is often the dropout, of course, who can provide most insight into the strengths and weaknesses of any program. We urge that

4) increased attention should be directed to those opportunities to build longitudinal studies on panels of families or workers being assisted in initial phases of resettlement or retraining making use of baseline data collected by these agencies of initial contact.

Need for contrast class data. The limitation of time and funds made it impossible to collect information from the general population comparable to that obtained for Mexican-American household heads. This greatly reduced the analytical value of the research. For example, we know something of the job finding patterns of Mexican-American workers but we do not know whether or in what way these may differ from those of the total population of workers or from those of Black workers for example. In some cases, we have been able to use findings from other studies or census statistics to provide some contrasts. But this study lacks, in many instances, data for making comparative judgments. This is a major strength of Shannon's work in Racine which provides data for low-income Mexican-Americans, Whites and Negroes. Spanish-surname data from the census permit such comparisons for demographic data, of course.

There is another need for contrasting data, however, within the Mexican-American population itself. Essentially we have studied the successful families. We have no information regarding those who tried to resettle in Michigan and failed to do so. Nor do we have any information regarding those families now in the migratory farm labor stream who desire to settle-out but are trapped by a variety of forces. Finally, we do not know in what ways or to what degree the families who have resettled in Michigan differ from those remaining in the stream or who live in Texas outside the stream. Are those who resettle in Michigan the most or least disadvantaged of families? Again Spanish-surname census data, if available for Midwestern as well as Southwestern states following the 1970 census, would help to answer some of the questions regarding the comparison of these two segments of the Mexican-American population. However, the brief trip made during this project to Texas towns of out-migration to the Midwest and, Michigan in particular, convinced us that future research on the Texas-Midwest migration channel requires coordinated studies on both ends of the channel. This is particularly important in gathering information relevant to job training and guided migration activities. Such programs need to select those most likely to benefit from the aid provided. As noted earlier, decisions need to be made regarding the point of intervention and the location of activities. Should programs be set up in the places of origin or of destination? What programs are needed in which places? We therefore advocate that

> 5) future research should be directed at gaining information on unsuccessful and trapped potential settlers from the migratory farm labor stream and that such research should proceed at both ends of the migration channel.

Research coordination. During the course of this research, we have learned of other researchers and projects relevant to our own. At the same time, however, we have been impressed by the need for more systematic exchange of information and ideas on research in progress and research being proposed. We believe that research on Mexican-Americans in the United States and, particularly on the migration from Texas to the Midwest, has reached a sufficient level, both in quality and quantity, to warrant some effort at consolidation and joint consultation of researchers on the direction and design of future needed research. This is particularly important when research is so clearly inter-regional in its content as that concerning an axis of migration. We propose, therefore, that

6) a working conference should be organized of researchers concerned with Mexican-American research, particularly with respect to Texas-Midwest migration to collate and assess the present information available and to confer regarding future research needs and priorities.

Such a conference would be of value, of course, to agencies and departments concerned with all aspects of the situation of Mexican-Americans and, particularly those engaged in migratory farm labor. We emphasize the word working above because we wish to avoid the problems that would arise in a public conference which rapidly escalates in scope and tends to move toward public relations instead of useful work concerning research.

In general, we believe that the sponsorship of this research has been foresighted and timely and that further research and program development relevant to the rapid changes taking place in the situation of the Mexican-American population will prove to be of considerable value. We hope that such research can be carried out in larger part in the future by the growing number of Mexican-American social scientists.

APPENDIX A

THE COMMUNITY SETTINGS: VIEWS OF ANGLO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS*

In addition to the sample survey reported in the body of the text, we conducted a series of studies at the community level. These studies were made in order to be able to describe the community setting within which the Mexican-Americans live. In these community studies we examined both the overall community and the Mexican-American subcommunity within it.

These community-level studies have been considered important for their manpower implications and for their general sociological information from the inception of the study. In the research proposal of May, 1966, which was incorporated into the contract, it was indicated that a study would be made of:

> Community participation -- contacts with Mexican-Americans and others in the new setting; degree to which isolated sub-community is forming, social, occupational and other community services received.

and that:

> The interviews of community leaders will focus on information about state and local officials influential in affecting public policies and programs, e.g. leaders in (Mexican-American organizations), farm organization representatives, clergy, elected officials, etc., including information about:
>
> 1. Attitudes toward the newcomer, his employability, housing conditions, community services, etc.
>
> 2. Types of community and governmental assistance programs available, attempted, and contemplated.

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* Written by Sue Strange from interviews collected by Phillip Mitchell with the assistance of Carolyn Fishel.

This part of the study fits into the overall conception of the study in which the transition process, with a focus upon occupational transition, was to be seen in a broad social context. The occupational and manpower aspect of the transition process takes place within a socio-economic setting and is best understood within that setting. Manpower development programs exist or will be created within that setting also, and consequently information on the community level has been considered essential.

The sample survey was conducted in eight counties, and the community-level studies were done in the same counties. Each of five of the counties had a medium-sized city within it and a sixth had a small city; in each of these cases almost all of the Mexican-Americans in the county lived within the city or very close to it. In these counties, city officials, as well as county and township officials were interviewed. In the two predominantly rural counties, town and county officials were interviewed. In addition, among the Anglos interviewed, there were priests and ministers, school principals and other school officials, social welfare agency officials, and others. Frequently, the Anglo officials interviewed were those who were formally or informally designated within their agencies as the people to handle "Mexican-American cases." Others were those responsible for agencies, such as schools, in areas with Mexican -American populations. The Mexican-Americans interviewed were either formal officers of Spanish-speaking organizations or persons reputed to be knowledgeable about Mexican-Americans in the area. Some of these knowledgeable persons function as intermediaries between formal agencies and Mexican-Americans in the community.

Seventy-six interviews were made in the community setting part of the study. Sixty-one of these were conducted by a bilingual staff member and the other fifteen by an English-speaking staff member. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured open-ended manner, and were tape-recorded for accuracy, except in cases in which the respondent indicated he preferred his remarks not be taped. Some of the respondents were chosen by the higher-level staff of the project on the basis of our knowledge of the communities involved after the reconnaisance research of 1966 and the interviewing experience in 1967. Others were chosen because they filled key positions within the community, such as being principal of a particular school, or because they were delegated to talk with the interviewer by the occupant of such a key position, such as in cases in which the director of a public welfare agency or the chief of police would ask a particular staff member to supply the necessary information. Other respondents were chosen because they were referred to the interviewer as highly knowledgeable.

A "community profile outline" was prepared indicating the kinds of information to be collected concerning each city or county. The interviewer was instructed to attempt to collect adequate information on each point in the outline from the appropriate respondent in each case. Respondents were asked questions relevant to their positions in the community.

Thus, this information is presented as giving a descriptive account of people's reports on what is happening in their cities or their counties. It is a different kind of information from that presented in the survey results and it is valuable in a different way. It indicates the reports of agency and organizational activities given by persons in key positions in these organizations about what the response of public agencies has been to the presence of Mexican-Americans. It indicates the variety and activities of Mexican-American ethnic organizations. And, some of the incidents reported give some indication of the problems as well as the accomplishments of the agencies and organizations. The community accounts have been presented here in considerable descriptive detail in order to give the reader the "feel" of the situation.

1. Newaygo-Grant

The Newaygo-Grant area is located in western Michigan, about 20 miles northeast of Muskegon. Predominantly a farming area, it is one of the two rural counties in the survey. The major crops are carrots and onions. Besides the farms, there are packing houses in the area where produce is prepared for market. In 1960 the population of the county was 24,160; the city of Newaygo was 1,447 and Grant was 732. In a nearby town, there is a baby food processing operation. There is some industry in the area; most industry, however, is in foundries. For the most part, foundry work is hot and heavy, usually unskilled. The economy of Grant seems geared to agriculture, while in Newaygo we find more industry and commerce.

To derive a profile of the Grant-Newaygo area, we interviewed eight individuals who deal in some way with Mexican-American residents. Their statements give us an indication of the attitudes of the local non-Mexican-American residents.

There apparently is a marked distinction between the Grant and the Newaygo Anglos. It seems that the Mexican-American is accepted much more readily in Newaygo than he is in Grant. Perhaps this may be a manifestation of the difference in economic focus in the two communities or it may reflect greater prejudice in the town with the higher proportion of Mexican-Americans. Whatever the cause, most of the sources said that Mexican-Americans in Newaygo are "accepted and respected," and "treated just like anybody else." In

Grant, however, we find evidence of a non-accepting attitude of natives toward Mexican-Americans. For example, there are claims of real estate discrimination. Apparently Mexican-American school children feel this attitude to a greater extent than do other Mexican-Americans. Some interviewees told us of unfair treatment by Grant teachers and of name-calling of their children by Anglo classmates. Grant farmers exhibit a most unsympathetic attitude, it seems. Mexican-American respondents claimed that farmers had applied pressure to stop the OEO-supported work with farm workers before the organization was in fact shut down due to a fund cut-off. One source speculated that perhaps the farmers feel threatened by the number of Mexican-Americans in Grant. Professionals and merchants were also blamed for discrimination by several of those we interviewed.

Perhaps we can best sense these attitudes in the statements of some of the Anglos we interviewed. For instance, a farm manager said that if there is discrimination, it is precipitated not by race, but by the state of the farm worker's "cleanliness." The manager of a farm machine shop said that Mexican-Americans can be trained as skilled workers, but they wouldn't really be skilled because of their language handicap. It seems that in Grant a mechanic isn't really a mechanic unless he is fluent in English.

There was some disagreement with the drawing of this definite dichotomy concerning the two communities. A school official told us that while the Grant farmers do discriminate, neither is Newaygo free of poor attitudes concerning Mexican-Americans. Apparently, Newaygo authorities refused to go along with a summer education program the Grant schools were planning, and according to the school official, Newaygo would not recognize the Graduate Equivalency Degree to be awarded.

Mexican-Americans in Newaygo number about 10 families and in Grant about 65 families. It is our impression that those in Newaygo belong to the middle class, while those in Grant are on a lower socio-economic step. Perhaps this may be related to the attitudes of the townspeople mentioned earlier. There seems to be some alienation of one group of Mexican-Americans from the others; there were complaints that those who have "made it" disassociate themselves from those who haven't.

There is difficulty in finding jobs, but most Mexican-Americans are employed as year-round farm workers in Grant or in foundries in Newaygo.

Several of those interviewed commented that there is a reluctance on the part of Mexican-Americans to seek help from agencies in solving their economic and social problems. Many labeled this as pride or a refusal to seek charity.

As we found in each area we surveyed, there is a rather severe dropout problem among Mexican-American students in Grant and Newaygo. Some teachers in the area surveyed the students, comparing the percentage of Mexican-American students in the fourth and sixth grades with the number in the tenth grade. They found that 9 percent of the enrollment in the fourth and in the sixth grade is Mexican-American. However, in the tenth grade, only 5 percent of the students is Mexican-American. This figure remains steady through the twelfth grade. Apparently, once the students enter high school, they remain to graduate. There are three reasons postulated for this high dropout rate. First, many Mexican-American school children have a language problem that may become too great to cope with in the junior high grades.

Second, the Mexican-American students may have a low self-concept. It was stated that often they are accepted by the Anglo students but feel resentment from the teachers. Finally, Mexican-American families often have financial problems, and when students reach 15 or 16 years of age, they may drop out of school to earn money for the family.

Mexican-Americans in Newaygo and Grant also have employment problems. There has been a steady increase in the number of migrant workers staying in the area for the winter, despite a lack of jobs. With what is often a minimal facility in English combined with the usual lack of marketable skills, severe problems result. The welfare director recommended a county vocational high school but indicated that financially it is impossible to set one up. Because of the one-year residency requirement for welfare at the time of the survey, little could be done for unemployed ex-migrants, and they become stranded in Michigan with no funds. The county has an emergency 30-day aid program. If the recipient still has not found work at the end of this period, the county welfare department gives him and his family money for transportation back to Texas.

There is also a problem with the requirements of the Medicaid program for migrants. To be eligible, a person must not be a resident of the state that he is presently in, but must not own property elsewhere. According to the welfare official, this rather effectively eliminates nearly everyone who could benefit from the provisions of the program.

There have been and are presently some efforts to alleviate the problems of the Mexican-American in Newaygo County. While the OEO-supported program was in operation, adult education classes resulted in the granting of GED diplomas to five of the 22 students who took part in the program.

Under the sponsorship of OEO, there has been formed a day care center, which uses a Newaygo park shelter house. Thirty children, many from Grant, attend the day care center and receive bus service and a hot lunch.

An Anglo doctor who is married to a Mexican-American woman has been instrumental in setting up a medical clinic which provides free medical and dental services to those who cannot afford the care of private practice. This clinic is in operation one night a week throughout the summer months, and the directors eventually hope to expand it to become a year-round operation. Many area doctors do not participate, however.

There is also in the area the Latin American Council, which was formed as a militant splinter group of the Grand Rapids Latin Americans United for Political Action. Their main function is social assistance, but they have been involved in such activities as the picketing of their state representative's office, and protesting the cutoff of the funds and the migrant worker situation in Michigan. However, we were told that the membership is dropping off, apparently because of lack of interest in the group.

As mentioned above, the Newaygo County Welfare Department works to help the Mexican-American in the area. The director told us that there has been an increase in the number of people receiving assistance, as a result of the activities of community action people, who tell those who may be qualified to apply to the welfare department for help.

The Mexican-American man who was working with a migrant aid agency is now working in the office of the comprehensive health services program, which is connected with OEO. The program provides medical, dental and other health services to residents of Newaygo, Lake, Mason and Manistee counties. There is also a training program for area residents which provides training for jobs such as dental assistants, clinical aides, and medical and dental clerical workers. After training, job placement is provided.

2. Adrian

Adrian is located in lower southeastern Michigan, about 15 miles from the Ohio border. The community has both agriculture and industry; the agricultural endeavor is primarily in sugar beets and tomatoes, and industrial plants include automotive and aluminum factories. The 1960 population was 20,347.

We may derive some impression of the attitudes of local people and agencies toward Mexican-Americans from comments made by 10 interviewees. There seems to be quite a negative attitude in Madison Township, not part of Adrian, where many Mexican-Americans live. Apparently physical conditions in the township have been deplorably neglected. There are few land improvements, and the streets have not been well maintained. A township official who was interviewed attributed the lack of improvements to the residents' reluctance to pay for them. He said that the people want the services but "back down" when they find out what the improvements will cost. He seems to suggest that this is a lack of ambition rather than a financial inability to support such improvements. There is evidence, however, that the residents do want improvements. Distressed by the condition of the streets, about 35 township inhabitants attended a township meeting, and, as a respondent said, "gave the officials hell." The next day, trucks appeared to smooth the streets, street signs were put up, and a major clean-up campaign was begun. In addition, the township allocated $500 and dump trucks to assist in the clean-up project.

Madison Township appears to be neglecting the welfare of the residents in the hopes of luring industry to the area, according to some local Mexican-Americans. We were told that township funds which had been promised to teachers were allocated to the construction of roads and airport improvements in the hope of attracting industry.

A Mexican-American reported that the welfare department exhibits a negative attitude toward resettlement, in that it encourages migrants to go back to Texas and suggests that they not return to Adrian.

There is no human relations commission in Adrian. Many Anglos told us there was "no discrimination," so apparently no one in the "power structure" feels the need to establish such a commission.

Most interviewees agreed that there is a definite shortage of low-cost housing in Adrian. We were told that two or three projects have been started, but they were effectively blocked by a strong real estate organization. At present, very poor housing is demanding very high rents. There had been some barracks that were used for war-time housing, but they have been demolished in favor of industrial expansion. The local Kiwanis Club has attempted to construct low-cost retirement housing, but they too have been unsuccessful. While most sources agreed on the severity of this problem, we encountered a contradictory point of view from an employer of Mexican-Americans who said that there is enough housing available for migrants wishing to settle in Adrian. In fact, he said, some Mexican-Americans live in houses "as good as" his. The impression of the interviewer was that a Mexican-American could find houses available in the $30-40,000 bracket, but anyone trying to find housing within the income of an unskilled worker has a serious problem.

Farmers in the Adrian area share the attitude of farmers in the Newaygo area. One interviewee working with a migrant aid agency told us that the farmers think of him as an agitator. He said it is his job to inform migrant workers of their rights, which probably gives rise to the farmers' feeling threatened.

Though these groups -- the township officials, the real estate organization, the farmers -- seem to have a negative attitude toward Mexican-Americans, other groups and individuals apparently view the presence of Mexican-Americans in the community positively. A Catholic priest told us that his parishioners, many of them well-to-do Anglos, have a good attitude toward the Mexican-American. Also, a Mexican-American of his acquaintance who works at General Motors was told by a manager that he would hire any other qualified Mexican-Americans the man could find.

We were told that while most county agency officials do not realize the problems Mexican-Americans have, they are attempting to employ Spanish-speaking individuals in their offices. Staff members at a church related community action center reported receiving cooperation from most government officials in Adrian. In fact, these officials were characterized as "understanding and sympathetic."

A welfare official and a minister both told us that there is no major discrimination problem for the Mexican-American in the area of employment. A restaurant owner we interviewed said, however, that he feels a Mexican-American would have trouble getting a liquor license in Adrian, though a Mexican-American businessman would probably have no difficulty securing a loan to go into business.

Mexican-Americans in Adrian are concentrated in the southeastern part of the city and in Madison Township. Perhaps the selection of this area for Mexican-American residence may be attributed to the fact that Blissfield, the location of many farms employing migrant workers, is to the southeast of Adrian. The number of Mexican-Americans moving into this area is increasing, deterred only by lack of housing. Also, the southeast side of town is the reservoir of most of the city's existing low-cost housing. Madison Township is almost completely surrounded by Adrian proper; some interviewees said that the residents of the township are resisting annexation in fear of the higher taxes that would come with inclusion in the city. Others commented, though, that members of the township power structure do not want to lose this area because the revenue from new industry is valuable and, in fact, residents of the area have tried to push annexation. It appears that once Mexican-Americans improve their incomes, they leave these working-class areas.

Most Adrian Mexican-Americans have what were called well-paying jobs in factories. One works at a factory where he is a union steward. As far as we were able to ascertain, he is the only Mexican-American in Adrian with an office in a union. There are several Mexican-American bus drivers, and other Mexican-Americans are employed in custodial work. The packing plant employs about 110 Mexican-Americans during September and October, mostly women. The owner of the plant told us that he has found Mexican-Americans to be the best workers. They work as tomato peelers and corers and are paid by piece rate. Others work loading trucks.

Few Adrian Mexican-Americans go to college, but there are, we were told, several Mexican-American teachers in the Adrian school system and one registered nurse in the hospital. In addition, Adrian has a striking number of independent Mexican-American businessmen, perhaps reflecting the degree of local assimilation and relatively long duration of the community. There are two Mexican-American barbers and one Mexican-American has his own office dealing with securities, insurance and accounting. Among the Mexican-American businesses we found two beauty shops, a bakery, a food and merchandise store, a tortilla factory and three restaurants. Also, there is one Mexican-American who manages a service station.

A priest told us that tuition cost doesn't seem to impede Mexican-Americans from attending parochial schools. He said they attend Catholic elementary schools in about the same proportion as that of the Mexican-Americans to the larger community. In addition, "several" Mexican-American high school graduates plan to go on to college but more girls than boys pursue higher education.

In the public schools, it seems that Mexican-Americans do not mix socially with Anglo students. Mexican-Americans and Negroes "stick pretty close together." A high school official told us also that he sees Mexican-American students as reluctant to ask for help. He said they let problems go by, become hopelessly lost and drop out. In addition, he finds it difficult to communicate with the Spanish-speaking parent, who isn't aware of what is expected of the high school student. This situation is improving, he believes, as gradually fewer Mexican-American students speak mainly Spanish in the home, and better communication is possible. In fact, some of his Mexican-American students do not speak Spanish.

The township supervisor told us that Mexican-American parents are becoming more interested in school activities. He said that today they are as involved as are Anglos in PTA activities, and he cited a 90 percent attendance figure for last year's parent-teacher conferences. Here we find some disagreement, as another interviewee related that Mexican-Americans are not involved in the Madison PTA, and there are none on the school board.

In contrast, the supervisor also revealed that there are no Mexican-Americans running for the position of trustee on the township board. He characterized Mexican-Americans as being uninterested in politics, as not trusting outsiders and staying mostly to themselves. However, we cited above the attendance of protesting Mexican-Americans at the township meeting which resulted in the Madison Township clean-up project.

A Mexican-American couple we interviewed told us of the large number of school dropouts; this rate was attributed by them to lack of parental interest and to lack of money. They said that some dropouts just "bum around," while others find temporary jobs to sustain them before going into military service or into factory work. Many drop out because of embarrassment; they resist going to school because they have no money for clothes and cars as many Anglos have. Some have dropped out and later returned to finish.

Adrian is unique in that more Mexican-Americans than Negroes come to the welfare office for assistance. However, it is also unique in that it probably has more Mexican-American residents than black residents. Even so, we were told that on the average, only about two Mexican-Americans per month seek aid. The most common types of aid requested are aid to dependent children, medical assistance and old age assistance.

A Mexican-American restaurant owner told us that he has few customers of his own nationality because they prefer to cook their own Mexican food.

Occasionally a group may come in after a social function. He said that not many Mexican-Americans in Adrian go on to college. He attributed lack of involvement in the community to a sense of insecurity. Unsure of English, Mexican-Americans find it extremely hard to stand up and speak before a group.

A packing plant owner noted that many of his workers speak Spanish on the job, but he remarked that this seems to be a dying trend. He characterized the Mexican-American as ambitious and clean.

There are several voluntary associations within the Adrian Mexican-American community. In the Catholic church, there is the Guadalupe Society, which is a social organization for both men and women. The society has 50 active members and engages in such activities as sponsoring a Mexican dinner at the county fair. There is also a strong Cursillo movement in the church. This movement is strong among all Spanish-speaking parishioners, and it apparently plays a big part in uniting Mexican-Americans and other Latin Americans. It seems that Latin Americans joke with one another about their cultural differences, but there is no ill feeling towards one another.

The Spanish-speaking Protestant church has three organizations -- one for men, one for women, and one for the youth of the church.

Among other formal organizations we find El Paso, which is a political association of Spanish-speaking organizations; Cardinal, which is devoted to sports and recreation; La Fama (Federation of the Advancement of Mexican-Americans), which has as its goal the preservation of the Mexican-American culture; and the GI Forum, which is devoted to educational goals and is open to veterans. There was formerly a chapter of LAUPA (Latin Americans United for Political Action), but it apparently has been dissolved.

There are a few recreation leagues with Mexican-American and Anglo members. We learned of integrated bowling and golf leagues. There is also a softball team which is composed mostly of Mexican-Americans.

As for informal community organizations, one of the interviewees characterized Adrian Mexican-Americans as possessing "unity among the people as a whole but some disunity and differences of opinion among individuals." Some factionalism was reported. We were also told that most Mexican-American leaders are middle-aged, but there are some young men coming up who show leadership abilities.

We have already noted the cohesiveness of the Madison Township residents, who were organized by some concerned Anglos and have stayed together.

Along with the dropout problems already described, we learned of other problems of the Mexican-American and education. Many adults are reluctant to participate in adult education programs. This is a serious problem, since lack of education is one drawback for people desiring to run for public office. One of the people interviewed estimated that 90 percent of the Spanish-speaking students need some kind of help. He said that counselors don't understand the Spanish language or the problems of the Spanish-speaking. There are motivation and discipline problems that they cannot handle. In addition, administrators and members of the board of education reportedly do not understand the special problems of the Mexican-American students who are a part of their responsibility.

This same source revealed the attitude of people in the Adrian area toward education and money. First, he said that the school system does not take advantage of funds available to it through the state migrant education program. According to this man, ex-migrants are eligible for this program for as long as five years after leaving the migrant stream. The responsibility for another financial problem lies with the general population. He says that the Adrian people reject federal funding for education purely on principle. In addition, situations such as the one mentioned in Madison Township occur; tax money voted for schools gets allocated elsewhere.

Mexican-Americans also have job-related problems in Adrian. One such problem is in the inability to find jobs. The high school dropouts mentioned earlier are not alone in unemployment. The migrants have the same problem. We were told that often nearby Ohio farmers and processing companies overhire. As a result, migrants leave Ohio looking for work and come to the Adrian area hoping to find some source of livelihood, usually with little luck.

Some Adrian factories will not hire a man who does not have a high school education. If a Mexican-American is hired, the chances of his advancement, we were told, are slim, because of the strong emphasis on education. One of our interviewees related his own job history in Michigan: he had managed a store in Texas and apparently earned a satisfactory living, but here in Michigan his experience was disregarded, and he had to take a factory job and now makes only about $80 a week.

In addition to the factory hiring and promotion policies, Mexican-Americans have other problems perhaps resulting from their own fears. It seems that many Mexican-Americans are afraid to get involved in union activities because they feel that Anglos won't be able to understand them if they are called upon to speak.

There were not many complaints of discrimination in Adrian, although some people view the refusal of industrial personnel managers to hire Mexican-

Americans who haven't a high school education as a covert, legal means of discrimination. It appears that the Mexican-American is not refused service in public places; such overt discrimination is not practiced in Adrian. Contrary to what some of the Anglos interviewed said, some Mexican-American interviewees said most of the discrimination is in the area of home buying. A common complaint of discrimination is directed against the officials of Madison Township, who, it is claimed, do not truly represent the Mexican-Americans in the community.

The closing of an OEO-supported migrant program office in the area is regarded as a serious problem, because now there is no organized agency to help migrant workers. There was also cited an attitude of frustration and lack of control of their own destiny among the Mexican-American people. If such a feeling exists, the migrants attempting to settle in Adrian must indeed have problems. The one-year residency requirement for welfare worked a hardship on migrants, also. Since it is difficult to find jobs, often settlers have no means of subsistence. The county welfare department could provide only surplus food, and this assistance could be extended for only 30 days.

The lack of Spanish-speaking personnel in agency offices is also viewed by many as a problem. We were told that when a Spanish-speaking individual brings an interpreter with him to a welfare office, the staff members force the Spanish-speaker to speak for himself, resulting in a great deal of humiliation. An official of the welfare department claimed, however, that they have had little public demand for a Spanish-speaking staff member.

Another common problem among agencies is the lack of funding necessary for programs to establish themselves. It was claimed that when the religious community action center, which was not really completely established at the time of the interviews, was organizing, the Archdiocese of Detroit supplied $7,500, and an interviewee pointed with scorn to the wealth he perceived in the Church. Another problem in organizing the community action center was in political polarization. Also, the group did not receive the desired technical assistance from the governor's office. It seems that the proposal was submitted to the state, approved and never funded. In addition, we were told, the local newspaper refused to give publicity to the center as it was attempting to set up its operation.

The Adrian Opportunity Exchange was forced to close because there was no sponsoring agent. Also, attempts to set up an area resources council made up of community, religious, and civic leaders are difficult because Community Fund money is said to be allocated insufficiently to poverty groups.

The church-supported community action center has been in large part a community project. All the renovation of the building where the center is located has been done by volunteers, and the people of the community have provided the furnishings. In the four weeks the center had been open at the time of the interviews, more than 100 families had been helped. The center is planning a series of adult education classes.

The public school system at the time of the interview was planning to provide special tutors the following September for Spanish-speaking students. There was also planned a special Spanish course for the Spanish-speaking; this program was envisioned more as meeting the need for counseling than for any extra help in the Spanish language. In addition, the system has one Mexican-American teacher and two Cuban teachers. The public schools invite the dropouts of the past year to attend summer school programs. At present the only adult evening classes the system sponsors are stenography, typing, blueprint reading and mechanical drawing. However, the voters have approved the establishment of an area vocational school. In the realm of vocational education at present, auto mechanics' classes are conducted in a downtown garage the board of education purchased for this purpose. Adrian High School also has a home construction project and machine shop training. Next year, a data processing program is planned. According to the assistant principal, students who have taken part in these vocational programs have little trouble finding jobs.

In Madison Township, there is one Spanish-speaking elementary teacher who acts as an interpreter when necessary. Township schools also have a Head Start program which involves mostly Mexican-Americans. In addition, they have a clothing program, a milk program and a lunch program.

The Adrian Area Resources Council, which at the time of the interviews was just beginning, has as its goal a community action program. The board of directors is composed of people from the area to be served, from agencies, and interested townspeople. According to our sources, the Spanish-speaking community is well-represented.

According to our respondents, a Catholic church does the most for the Adrian area Mexican-Americans, but an Anglo Protestant church with a Spanish-speaking minister had become more active recently.

3. Lansing

Lansing, the capital city of Michigan, is located in the central lower part of the state. Its population in 1960 was 107,807. The economy of the city is based primarily on industry and government services. Major automobile and truck factories are located in the city, including several drop forges affiliated with the auto industry.

Ten individuals in Lansing who are closely related with the city's Mexican-American community in a variety of activities were interviewed.

There are positive, negative and uninformed attitudes of the people of Lansing toward Mexican-American residents. For example, we were told that when some ladies of his church asked him for the names of some poor people who needed food they had collected, a Lansing priest told them there were no people who could use the food. One of the elementary principals informed us that the school system retains the names of Mexican-American students who have dropped out on the rolls so that the system may continue to receive the state allotment for these children. On the other hand, the schools use books with multi-racial characters. A man who is affiliated with the county department of social welfare seemed sincerely interested and aware of the problems of Mexican-Americans. While one of the elementary school principals seemed aware and concerned about the Mexican-American student, another seemed rather to gloss over them. It was mentioned that when it was necessary during a period of remodeling to bus some minority group students to another school, community residents expressed their dislike for such action.

There are five areas of the city where Mexican-Americans seem to cluster. Perhaps the "nicest" of these is located in the far southwest side of town. Families whose head of household has a secure factory job make up the Mexican-American group in this area. The next lower economic stratum of Mexican-Americans live in an area also on the southwest side, but closer to the center of town. Finally, the Mexican-Americans with the poorest living conditions live on the near west side, the north side and in a blighted area near the prosperous suburb of East Lansing. Those on the north side live in the shadow of an automobile-related factory which has created considerable environmental pollution in the area. Attempts have been made by the factory authorities to correct this condition, but thus far they have been without success.

For the most part, Lansing Mexican-Americans are employed by the many factories in and around the city. In the factories, there are a handful of foremen and skilled workers, a few more workers who have seniority and finally, the unskilled laborers. According to our interviewees, some factories are easier for the Mexican-American to get into than others but one man we interviewed complained that he had been at a factory for 10 years before he was promoted to a skilled job. Also, the more liberal factory is said to be more flexible about bending its employment requirements than are most area employers.

Among the Mexican-Americans, factory and construction jobs are considered to be high-paying occupations, and work in restaurants and gas stations are low-paying. Apparently, construction ranks second to the factories in number of Mexican-Americans employed in the Lansing area.

A man we interviewed who is with an OEO-supported migrant agency which has helped many settling migrants to find jobs cited this typical pattern. A man may do badly on the first two or three jobs he has, become discouraged and quit. On the third or fourth job, however, there occurs some stabilization, and this becomes the man's permanent occupation.

We heard of two Mexican-Americans who have held union offices, one at an automobile-related factory and the other in a construction trade union.

Michigan State University also employs unskilled Mexican-Americans in custodial positions on the campus according to one interviewee.

Considering the rather large Mexican-American population in Lansing, there are remarkably few business establishments owned by Mexican-Americans. We were told of a record shop, two restaurants, a dry cleaning shop, two cement contractors and one grocery store.

We learned of only three professionals -- a teacher, a man with the State Department of Education and a man with the Lansing Department of Education. There is one Mexican-American policeman in the city.

When married women work, it is usually in restaurants, in small food processing companies, or as Head Start aides.

Mexican-American students in Lansing have limited aspirations, we were told. Their education and socialization prepares them to become laborers.

Both of our respondents who work with juveniles claimed there are no Mexican-American youth gangs in Lansing. There are groups that gather together, but these groups are joined by geography rather than any other motive. According to them, the juvenile delinquency rate among Mexican-American boys is lower than among Negroes, but higher than among Anglos. A court worker pointed out, however, that middle class whites often can afford the lawyers and "cover-ups" that Mexican-Americans cannot. Among girls, the juvenile delinquency rate for Mexican-Americans is much lower than that of other groups. It has been found, though, that when Mexican-American girls do get into trouble, it is serious trouble. Apparently this is caused by a total rebellion against their parents since girls in the city are very closely supervised by their parents until they reach the age of 18 or 20, we were told.

Apparently Mexican-American children mingle with Anglos and Negroes quite well until they reach junior high. Then a separation takes place, and they become part of well-defined racial groups. It is at this time also that juvenile delinquency becomes a problem, when it does occur.

One Mexican-American interviewee said, "We are a step behind the Negroes. We are really the forgotten people." However, others told us that the Mexican-Americans in Lansing are rather recessive; they are too busy making a living to concern themselves with neighborhood problems. According to this source, they are a very tolerant people, not willing to complain about conditions. The welfare department informant said that very few Mexican-Americans come to his office for assistance. He said they seem to be too proud to "beg." He has seen, however, a definite increase in the number of Mexican-American cases recently. He attributes this rise to referral by such agencies as the community center, Family Helpers, the school system and Catholic Family Services.

At various times, several Mexican-Americans have served as representatives on civic boards such as the zoning board of appeals and the Lansing civil rights commission. None of these boards has a policy-making function, however, and one Mexican-American interviewee views this as nothing more than tokenism. The few Mexican-American businessmen are not very active in community affairs.

Among formal organizations, we were told of a Latin American baseball league. It is interesting to note that the Lansing team is sponsored by a grocery store owned by an Italian. The city also has a Latin American golf league and a Latin American bowling league. Every Saturday afternoon there is a dance, and many Lansing Mexican-Americans travel to the nearby village of St. Johns for Sunday afternoon dances, where Mexican-American bands from Texas often are featured.

Much Mexican-American activity in Lansing centers around the community center, which originally was a parish church for the Spanish-speaking. When highway construction necessitated a move, the church became a neighborhood community center. This was met with a negative reaction by most Mexican-Americans. They resented sharing the center with other groups, after it had for so long been devoted exclusively to the Spanish-speaking. As one put it, they "...want to unite among themselves, ...want recognition and power." For a long time, the people had depended upon a particular priest for guidance and assistance, but at the time of the interview he said they are beginning to depend on him less and organize and do things themselves. This indicates a growing organization within the Mexican-American community in Lansing. In fact, a welfare department representative characterized the Mexican-Americans as a closed society. He said they seem self-sufficient.

In contrast to the lack of interest pointed out by one school principal, both principals interviewed commented that Mexican-Americans are indeed involved in the PTA. Both noted, however, a lack of voter registration in their areas. One PTA group is quite active; it helps new families to become settled in the area, and it campaigned for the passage of a school millage election.

A problem of the Mexican-American in the area of education is the lack of good counselors in Lansing, according to some of the interviewees. Rather than encourage the students to try to go to college, counselors tell them to go into factory work. In the cooperative education program, in which schools and businesses cooperate in a work-study plan, we were told that the Anglos benefit more than do the Mexican-Americans. Often a student must find his own place of employment to participate in the program.

The dropout rate is high among Mexican-American students. This problem is attributed to the low value Mexican-Americans put on education, economic problems, cultural differences with other students and rigid school regulations. In East Lansing the problem apparently is acute. The city's one high school sends 85 percent of its students on to college. Of the remaining 15 percent a very high percentage is comprised of Mexican-American students from a fringe low income area. There is no vocational education program at the school, and Mexican-American students often feel inferior to the affluent college-bound Anglos in their classes. Consequently, they do poorly or drop out to buy the clothes and cars they see that their contemporaries have.

Two Lansing elementary schools had bilingual programs in some classrooms, but some Mexican-American interviewees considered these to be too few.

We were told that until recently the unions have neglected the Mexican-American. It is said that a Mexican-American union member doesn't seem to be able to advance within the structure of the organization. One interviewee told of being "dumped" from a union steward position after he had been chosen in a special election, and replaced by someone from the union "in-group."

It seems that one auto factory had no Mexican-Americans in skilled positions until 1965. Often in Lansing factories a Mexican-American new on the job is given a bad assignment to see if he can "cut it." When other workers are rotated to better assignments, the Mexican-American is often left behind.

The "Jobs Available" program, sponsored by the Urban League and the Chamber of Commerce, places people in jobs, but often these are in smaller places than the factories at a rate of $1.40 per hour, as compared with the $3.00 and more per hour that wage earners make in the factories.

Mexican-Americans have trouble obtaining positions in state offices in Lansing because of the Civil Service requirements. We were also told that the city job system is not "open" to Mexican-Americans. One man we talked with said that insurance companies are not "open"; his daughter had applied for clerical work with such an organization, for which he said she was qualified, and was turned down. While many Mexican-Americans are engaged in construction work, they do not get into the skilled trades, perhaps because of the closed nature of the craft unions.

The city police department apparently tried to recruit some Mexican-Americans, but the only people that applied were described as "duds," who were looking only for the pay and had no real motivation to be policemen.

A staff member at the community center told us that it is difficult for Mexican-Americans to get credit and bank loans. If a Mexican-American wishes to start a small business he must take a loan with a small loan agency at a high rate of interest. He suggested, though, that this may be a function of the newness of the person to the community rather than discrimination against Mexican-Americans.

One problem cited lies with Mexican-American organizations. It seems such organizations often depend upon one man and are short-lived. Interest dies out and the groups have financial difficulties. Few people can devote enough time to the group as they have jobs and are trying to save money. Soon interest dies out, and the group has folded.

With the highway-urban renewal project that forced the community center to move, much low-cost housing was eliminated, and this has become a severe problem.

Another problem lies in agencies designed to help Mexican-Americans. Those funded by OEO usually receive funds on a yearly basis, and some people we talked to said that one year is hardly enough time to set up a program and demonstrate its effectiveness. In addition, it was said that often too much is promised and skepticism results.

In the welfare department, there are no case workers with training in Spanish language and culture. Lack of funds deters the hiring of interpreters, and Civil Service requirements prevent the hiring of a Latin American who could use the job and could work effectively. The welfare department does not advertise its programs because it has neither the money nor the staff to serve those who would respond.

The Catholic agency for Spanish-speaking people and the community center (which is also Catholic Church-supported) were both cited as valuable in that they have money and full-time staff members, and can work consistently in helping Mexican-Americans. It was explained that the function of the community center is threefold. First, it deals in direct service, which involves administering to immediate needs. Second, it works in community development, getting area residents involved in the process of change. Third, it has a social action function, which includes the organization of marches and other demonstrations with hopes of bringing about change.

The OEO has set up neighborhood community action centers including teen-age drop-in centers, legal aid, recreation and referrals to agencies for specific problems. The OEO also has a job-training program, and it provides classes in family budgeting, arts and crafts and home economics.

At one school in north Lansing, there is a year-round Head Start program. The program was instituted in 1964 and has served 80 children so far. This same school has an adult education program in which students can pursue a GED diploma. All of these programs are at least in part bilingual.

The county welfare department has services in two categories. The first is direct relief. This is an emergency program of medical aid, income supplementation and basic education and job training. The second is categorical relief. This includes programs of financial assistance to the aged, the disabled and aid to dependent children. Both of these programs had one-year residency requirements at the time of the interviews. The department also functions in referring laid-off construction workers to jobs and others to family planning agencies.

4. Grand Rapids

Grand Rapids is located in lower western Michigan, about 35 miles from Lake Michigan. It is a city surrounded by farm area, and the main industries are furniture factories, General Motors and brass factories. The 1960 population was 177,313, making it the largest city in the study, although not the one with the largest Mexican-American population.

In Grand Rapids we interviewed nine people who are associated in some way with the Mexican-American population of the city, giving us some indication of the attitude of the people in Grand Rapids toward the Mexican-Americans in their midst. One series of incidents seems quite salient in the minds of some Mexican-Americans with regard to their relationship to the wider community. More than one source described what they considered to be harrassment directed by the police toward a Mexican-American bar owner. They reported what they considered to be consistent and systematic unfair treatment of him by policemen. The Mexican-American owner refuses to give up his establishment, however. He told us that he wants to make his the best bar in Grand Rapids. He said he would like to be an example to Mexican-American children that a person can be a success in Grand Rapids regardless of race.

In contrast to these officers on the beat, however, an officer with whom we talked showed a much more favorable attitude. He told us of sensitivity training groups which had been meeting in the city, including police officers and minority group inner city residents, reportedly with good results. By and large, he said, both groups have become more accepting, though there are a few isolated cases of unchanged attitudes. He admitted that many policemen in Grand Rapids associate Latin Americans with marijuana and are always out to pick one of these people up on a narcotics charge. He feels, however, that problems Mexican-American teen-agers have are those common to all adolescents. He also said that staff members who speak Spanish fluently and understand the Mexican-American culture would be an asset to the department. There are no such experts on the rolls at this time. He also told us that many policemen when writing reports on a case involving a Mexican-American identify the subject as "Mexican," which has caused resentment. He seems to realize that awareness of these points would further good relationships between Mexican-Americans and police. This officer mentioned that the police sponsor an athletic program for young people. Apparently the police department hierarchy is making efforts at changing the "cop" image, but officers could make some individual changes.

Another series of incidents involves relationships between Mexican-Americans and blacks, particularly concerning competition for the benefits of an OEO-supported community program. This culminated in the filing of a formal complaint by a Mexican-American woman against a black agency administrator. She accused him of discriminating against her in his hiring practices. Since the time of the incident, the administrator has hired a Mexican-American urban agent and is hiring Mexican-Americans in other capacities. Since it was impossible for our interviewers to determine where the truth lies in this conflict the only conclusion we can draw from this conflict is that relations between Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Grand Rapids are strained.

The interviewers judged the action of the city government in 1960, when they decided that the Human Relations Commission had too much power and changed its structure, as a step backward in the development of amicable intergroup relations.

Most Grand Rapids Mexican-Americans live in the southwestern part of the city. In fact, an elementary school principal we talked with told us that 30 percent of the enrollment at his school is Mexican-American. This area formerly was occupied by a settlement of Dutch-Americans, who have moved. The Anglos in this area, according to one interviewee, are quite mobile. Apparently there were two periods of Mexican-American influx into the region. During World War II, industry in the area recruited Mexican-American laborers, and in 1957 and 1958 there was another arrival spurt. There is some disagreement as to the rate of Mexican-American arrival presently. There is, however, a housing shortage.

It was reported that most Mexican-Americans in Grand Rapids are either blue collar workers or are unemployed. Most of those who are employed, we were told, work in non-union shops, such as the furniture manufacturing companies, small brass and metal-producing firms and food processing companies. These food companies employ proportionately more Mexican-Americans than do any other concerns; in fact, 60 percent of the employees at one large bakery are Mexican-Americans. Some Mexican-Americans engage in farm work outside the city, at a pay rate of $1.25 per hour. It was said that despite the industry in the area, Grand Rapids does not have many good factory jobs.

As far as we could determine, there are no union officers in Grand Rapids who are Mexican-American.

We learned of the following Mexican-American businessmen in Grand Rapids: owners of four small restaurants, three bars, two auto repair shops, three grocery stores and one beer and wine take-out establishment. We discovered no Mexican-American professionals; there are two paraprofessional teacher's aides and one cemetery manager.

We were told that in many ways one Grand Rapids bar is the center of the Mexican-American community. Besides serving liquor, the establishment has Mexican food, pool tables, a band stand and a dance floor. On the walls there are Spanish and Mexican pictures. There is also a social club which was founded by a Mexican-American. The club sponsors dances and raffles and emphasizes Mexican-American culture.

In one area at least the Mexican-American has readily been assimilated into Grand Rapids society. We were told that the managers of children's baseball teams request Mexican-American boys for their teams quite frequently. In fact, one Mexican-American team was so good that the other teams in the league tried to get it to disband.

The residents of the Mexican-American area of Grand Rapids were characterized as stable residents without a high degree of mobility. It was hypothesized that the high concentration of Mexican-Americans in the area has an attracting and holding power. A cohesiveness among Grand Rapids Mexican-Americans became apparent in the conflict with the agency administrator. The administrator involved described the actions of the Mexican-Americans in response to the alleged case of discrimination as an aspect of community organization, rather than as an isolated complaint.

He said that in his opinion the Mexican-Americans were trying to focus attention on the problems of Mexican-Americans in Grand Rapids. One interviewee speculated that the Mexican-Americans are suffering from a lack of identity; they don't know whether they are black or white, and to establish an identity they are attempting to place representatives in the city's agencies and programs.

One agency administrator also mentioned some in-fighting among various groups of Mexican-Americans. This observation was corroborated by the priest with whom we talked. He said that there are two factions in Grand Rapids that want to control the affairs of the Spanish-speaking. He suggested that this is related to the personalities of the leaders rather than to any ideological or political differences.

Our sources who dealt with Mexican-American youth indicated that there are no Mexican-American youth gangs, and the Mexican-American youngster is no more likely than any other to get into trouble with the law. There are teen-age dances in downtown Grand Rapids, but it seems that very few Mexican-Americans attend. In addition, we were told that only about six Mexican-American boys participated in sports last year at the school whose principal we talked with. This may be an indication of Mexican-American cohesiveness and a lack of association with other ethnic groups.

An elementary school principal told us that there is no difference between Mexican-Americans and Anglos in his school in behavior or ability to learn. Mexican-American women are highly involved in school activities, it was reported; in fact, a Mexican-American woman was president of the PTA last year. Most mothers come to the school for parent-teacher conferences, though some feel inadequate because they have had little education themselves.

The picture is different in high school. There is an acute dropout problem. A principal told us that overall Mexican-American students have a good attitude toward school, and they try hard at the job of completing their education. He attributes the dropout problem to the language barrier and to the necessity for more family income. Another problem is the students' reluctance to involve their parents in their school difficulties. According to this source, family discipline is strict. Some parents feel inadequate and insecure because of their own lack of education, the high school principal agreed.

We were informed that often teachers advise Mexican-American children to drop out of school because they believe that the Mexican-American cannot compete with other students. Some Mexican-American students are placed in special education classes not because they are retarded, but because of language problems. The Grand Rapids school system has no bilingual teachers or counselors. Apparently nothing of much scope was being done to alleviate these problems at the time of the interviews.

There are problems in adult education, also. There has been a fund cutback in the OEO adult education program, and the Title V job training program has not been too successful with Mexican-Americans. The reason for this is suspected to be the fact that the classes are conducted in English, which makes it impossible for non-English speakers to participate successfully.

We learned that the reason many Mexican-Americans work at the bakeries is that bakeries are among the few major employers not requiring a high school diploma. According to our sources, lack of facility in

English also works in a perhaps discriminatory nature against a Mexican-American's job chances in Grand Rapids. One Mexican-American informant stated that one factory does not hire Mexican-Americans because "they don't speak English well enough"; but that many Polish workers are hired who have no better command of English than do the Mexican-Americans.

This same company operated to prevent unionization of its workers. The union filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board concerning the employer's activities to prevent organizing. After a four-year court battle, the case was decided in favor of the union.

Activities of migrant farm labor recruiters were also judged unscrupulous by one of our sources. The recruiters bring young men from the South and guarantee them a summer of work. When the young men begin, they find working conditions intolerable and quit. The result is a great number of stranded young people for the welfare department to attend to.

We heard of an incident of alleged discrimination in farm labor. One interviewee had been formally trained in farm work. When he found a job on a Michigan farm, he received the same $1.25 an hour as all the other workers.

There are other reported cases of discrimination in employment. One young Mexican-American man applied for a position as a Grand Rapids policeman. According to our sources, he was a veteran, had two years of college and met the physical requirements. He passed the tests, but he was not hired, allegedly because of his poor command of English. An incident occurred in a small Grand Rapids factory. One of the women we interviewed had heard this plant was hiring; she went to the personnel office and was told they needed no help. Unbelieving, the lady demanded that she be allowed to take a test. She took the test and scored well, but still was not hired until a long period of arguing had passed. Once on the job, she said she was harrassed because she spoke Spanish on the job with other Mexican-Americans who were hired after she threatened to expose the firm to the Civil Rights Commission. Workers of other nationalities were allowed to speak their native tongues, but the employment manager told this woman not to speak Spanish because it offended other workers.

There have been allegations by Mexican-Americans of police brutality directed toward members of the Spanish-speaking community. Some sources attribute these claims to a lack of communication, however.

Welfare authorities say that Civil Service requirements create a problem in Grand Rapids as well as in the other communities we studied. Many Mexican-Americans consider the regulations too rigid and say that they prevent the hiring of qualified people.

The Human Relations Commission member with whom we talked attributed many of the above problems to the lack of Spanish-speaking personnel in city government offices, the police department and city social agencies.

Some things are being attempted in Grand Rapids to assist the Mexican-American community. Concern for the problems is manifested by some who are associated with the Mexican-Americans. We were told that Mexican-Americans who work at the bakeries are treated fairly. In fact, it is thought that a Latin American could easily work up to a superintendent's position, because the bakery managers realize the importance of having Mexican-Americans in positions of authority with so many Mexican-American workers.

The Latin American Club, which was formed when the Grand Rapids chapter of LAUPA (Latin Americans United for Political Action) dissolved, has been involved in social action activities. In fact, it was this group that spearheaded the action against the OEO-supported agency in the discrimination matter discussed earlier. The club also serves as a referral agency in helping with the problems of Latin Americans. There is a Latin American Council auxiliary which attempts to raise money for adult education classes by such means as dinners to which the public is invited.

At the OEO centers, there are mothers' clubs. Currently about 20 Mexican-American women are taking part, participating in health care and family planning classes and tours of Grand Rapids facilities. One center also supported the Mexican-American bar owner who was troubled by police harrassment.

The public school system is trying to aid in the assimilation of Mexican-Americans, although there has been some criticism of their methods. Our respondents indicated that there were some good ideas within the school system but that school administrators lack the innovative methodology necessary to carry them out. One elementary school in the Mexican-American neighborhood is beginning to operate under a community school concept. The school itself is nongraded, and it has a pre-kindergarten program sponsored by the city. Under Project Follow, the children involved in this and a summer Head Start program will be enrolled in a special kindergarten class which will meet all day. This school also has a bilingual program, which involves almost all Spanish-speaking children in the area, who have language-based learning problems. The program concentrates on language skills improvement. Additionally, the school has an adult education program, whose classes include many parents of Mexican-American children enrolled in the school. There are also a recreation program and cultural enrichment courses which deal with arts and crafts and language and writing. Also, the city is planning to adjust the school enrollments to achieve a racial balance throughout the city.

The sensitivity training program for police and citizens was mentioned earlier. A similar group function was held at a Grand Rapids high school; many Mexican-American students were involved, and apparently the sessions resulted in greater understanding among students and teachers.

In addition to the youth recreation program, the Grand Rapids police department sponsors a summer camp which, according to the official we interviewed, involves many Latin American children.

There are three OEO-sponsored centers which are located in the poorest sections of Grand Rapids, and basically provide education for young adults ,and job training, followed by assistance in finding suitable jobs.

A representative of the welfare department told us of their programs which serve Grand Rapids Mexican-Americans. The department is attempting to inaugurate a program using "cultural consultants" to reach Latin Americans. Our source has made arrangements to hire a Mexican-American woman to counsel case workers in the understanding of Mexican-American traditions and culture. This lady also does all the translating for the county department. It is interesting to note that this consultant could not be hired by the State Department of Social Services because of Civil Service requirements and regulations. However, our source said that her services have proved invaluable.

The Department of Social Welfare is administering a Title V job training program, as mentioned earlier. Some Mexican-Americans are involved, but the classes are always filled. This program does eliminate those who do not have a good command of English.

This welfare department was hampered by the one-year residency requirement, as were the other agencies in all the areas we examined. Like the others, Grand Rapids has a temporary assistance program for people who are stranded in Michigan.

5. Saginaw

Saginaw is located on the eastern side of Michigan and is one of the state's urban centers. The city had a population of 98,265 in 1960 and it has the largest Mexican-American population of any city in our sample. There are many industrial plants in the city, most related to the automobile industry. It is also a sugar beet producing area.

We interviewed 11 informants in Saginaw. Most of those Anglos we interviewed seemed to have helpful attitudes toward Mexican-Americans. However, we were told this is not true of the Saginaw community and the white power structure as a whole. More than one interviewee claimed that people in Saginaw, for the most part, are simply unaware of the existence, much less the problems, of the Mexican-American community. In spite of this, an open housing ordinance passed in all precincts of the city except one or two, it was said. Another interviewee commented that certain businesses are opening the door for Mexican-American employment. Apparently some firms are relaxing their high school diploma requirement, and we were told of one firm that is working with the National Alliance of Businessmen to hire hard-core unemployed.

Comments made by those we interviewed may give some indication of attitudes prevalent toward the Mexican-Americans in Saginaw. A high school administrator seemed proud of the successful integration at the school. He said that to offer separate Mexican-American and black culture courses would be to destroy this integration. However, he revealed that there is an emphasis on culture in the Spanish language courses. In addition, the school offers a human relations course which they consider very successful. There are 10 Mexican-American teachers in the system, and the school administrator seemed to be pleased to have Mexican-Americans working there.

The comments of the elementary school teacher were radically different from those above. She cited the biggest problem as being the attitude of the educators toward the students; she said the teachers are not aware of cultural differences and have stereotyped notions of the Mexican-American children. Her school has a "cultural enrichment" program which includes several affluent white students. It was only at the insistence of a teacher that Mexican-American and Negro children were included in this federally-funded program. There is another similar federally-funded program in the summer in which the same situation exists. Children from prosperous families attend these summer music lessons, and, according to this teacher, the program hardly reaches the poor. In addition, there is no federal lunch program at the school. One teacher has tried to secure such a program, but there is evidently no interest among the other school personnel.

The Saginaw County Department of Social Welfare has two Mexican-American case workers, plus an Anglo case worker fluent in Spanish and two Mexican-American clerical workers. This would seem to evidence a positive attitude toward Mexican-Americans within this welfare department. The city has a rather ambitious housing program which will be discussed later. The city relocation office employs one Mexican-American, and the Community Action Center has one Mexican-American teacher and three Mexican-American aides. On the other hand, we were informed that the white board members of a community agency are afraid to come into the neighborhood in which it is located at night, so hold their meetings during the day.

An official of the city's Human Relations Committee told us of the philosophy of that group. When the commission hears a case, the policy is to educate rather than punish the offender. There are two Mexican-American members of the Human Relations Commission. According to the official, the police department and the school board could benefit from some sensitivity training. Though the attitudes in the Board of Education are changing, in the past it habitually ignored the recommendations of the Human Relations Commission. This would be consistent with the observations of the teacher noted above.

The principal areas of Mexican-American residence in Saginaw are on the east side of the city. There are some higher prestige areas on the west side. Over half the students at Jesse Rouse Elementary School on the southeast side are Mexican-American. The low-cost housing shortage was frequently called very bad in Saginaw. Urban renewal and highway construction projects have eliminated much low-cost housing, and the large family size of many Mexican-Americans makes it doubly difficult for them to find housing. The housing situation is so poor that some families are living in landed houseboats, many of which have no floors. Consequently they suffer during cold Michigan winters.

Most Mexican-American high school students attend Saginaw High School; the other public high school has only one-tenth as many Mexican-Americans as does Saginaw High. Some Mexican-Americans attend parochial high schools.

Among Mexican-American businesses, we learned of two contracting firms, two barbers, two restaurants, two or three gas station managers, one grocery store and one bar. Among professional, managerial, and other white collar occupations, there are several salesmen, the teachers mentioned earlier, several Protestant ministers and a credit union manager. We were unable to ascertain the number of doctors and lawyers within the Mexican-American population of Saginaw. (One source said there are several, and another said he knew of none.)

There is farming activity in the Saginaw area, also. The employment manager of a sugar company told us that he recruits Mexican-Americans for thinning, hoeing and plotting from May to July. There are also [illegible] year-round employees at the company, but none is Mexican-American.

A high school administrator told us that he has no more problem with Mexican-American students dropping out than with any other group. If this is true, Saginaw differs remarkably from the other communities we studied. He said that Mexican-American students are involved in athletics and student government in a proportion equal to their population. He reported that there are many Mexican-Americans going on to college, but few choose the teaching profession, which he finds regrettable. He noted, though, that those Mexican-Americans who have a college education are eager to return to contribute to the Mexican-American community. Strangely, many Mexican-American adults participate in adult education programs, but few become involved in their children's school activities.

A teacher said, however, that the adult education is not really successful. She noted that Mexican-American adults have a desire for reading and math assistance, but that they cannot get the type of education they want. She said that programs are usually short-lived and because of lack of continuity do not really contribute a great deal to the education of Mexican-American adults. Again this teacher differed with the administrator when she reported that she has 100% participation from parents in conferences. Unexpectedly, more Mexican-American men than women attend these conferences. In other communities, it was usually noted that women attended more than men.

An official of the welfare department said that there are no social problems that Mexican-Americans have more than other ethnic groups. He commented, as did welfare administrators in other areas, that the Mexican-American is often reluctant to seek assistance. The low number of complaints brought to the attention of the Human Relations Commission by Mexican-Americans may be another indication of this reluctance.

Both Mexican-American Protestant ministers with whom we talked indicated that they feel the Mexican-American should not be too active in politics. One said that the Mexican-American is too passive to become involved, but he believes this is as it should be -- the Mexican-American should be patient and work his way up in American society.

The industrial employment managers told us that they have no more problems with Mexican-Americans in the area of job stability than with others. They also commented that they have seen no friction between Mexican-Americans and Negroes or Mexican-Americans and whites. One commented that the Mexican-American doesn't seem to have much ambition to move to higher-paying jobs. The other has sensed strong family ties. Relatives are anxious to work with one another.

Apparently the community organization of Mexican-Americans is growing quite strong. A manifestation of this community organization can be seen in the action a group of Mexican-Americans took against the locally-funded community action center, which is a United Fund agency. When these Mexican-Americans requested that the center hire Mexican-Americans and the request was not met, they all directed their employers to stop taking the United Fund contributions out of their paychecks Following this the center hurriedly added Mexican-Americans to their staff.

Among voluntary associations, we were told of the Union Civica, the GI Forum, LAUPA (Latin Americans United for Political Action), Concerned Citizens for Migrant Workers and SLAM. The Union Civica was criticized as emphasizing Mexican history to a great degree, rather than that of the Mexican-American in the United States. SLAM (Saginaw Latin American Movement) is a group formed to unify the activities of all other Mexican-American groups in the city. Leaders of the group say they hope to serve as a communication link so that activities are not duplicated or ignored. There may be some young leaders arising, though. One young man who is employed at General Motors started the Saginaw grape boycott movement.

It was in Saginaw that we saw the greatest Catholic-Protestant split among Mexican-Americans. We were told that very few Protestant Mexican-Americans are involved in organizational activities of Mexican-Americans in Saginaw, while in other areas this distinction was not so pronounced. It was agreed that while Mexican-American leaders are having some difficulty organizing, the ethnic group is beginning to present a unified front to the rest of the city.

We cited above the problems with teachers' attitudes, the cultural enrichment and the adult education programs in Saginaw. In addition, a school administrator told us that many of the students having the greatest difficulty with Spanish in his school are Mexican-Americans. It seems that they acquired "bad" language habits at home and have difficulty with the Spanish taught in the school. It might be well to note here, however, that the language taught to Spanish teachers usually ignores dialect differences. Another problem that the administrator mentioned is in placing the newly-arrived Mexican-American student in the right program because he often arrives with no records.

A teacher told us that most of the problems she has derive from language. It concerns this teacher that many of the Mexican-American children placed in special education classes are not really retarded, but language difficulties hamper them in normal classes. In her opinion, this placement can have severe psychological effects.

There seem to be few problems in the area of employment. However, union practices may be problematic. It was reported that very few workers are able to get into skilled trades, which are controlled by union leadership.

Perhaps the most severe problem affecting Saginaw Mexican-Americans is in the area of housing. Most of our sources commented on this situation. While there is a relocation program, we were told that when the city tears down a house for urban renewal, Mexican-Americans often must double up temporarily. The relocation office seems to be relocating people, but many feel that housing is secondary and are deeply disturbed when they are forced to leave their neighborhoods and friends. The few complaints Mexican-Americans have filed with the Human Relations Commission concern housing and public accommodations.

We learned of some efforts being made to help solve the problems of the Mexican-American in Saginaw. Before there was a fund cutback, the OEO-supported migrant program was operating three centers for adult education. In this program, students were paid a stipend while they attended classes. In addition, the administrators attempted to find part-time jobs for the Mexican-Americans while they attended,and served as a placement agency at the completion of the course. The program was coordinated by the public school system. The migrant agency also operates a day care center, assists with driver's license applications, assists with food and clothing and refers migrants to other agencies for assistance.

Both Protestant churches have assistance programs for migrant workers, in which they provide food and clothing. One also provides transportation for migrants to a medical clinic.

There are two community action centers in Saginaw. They reportedly cooperate and assist one another, functioning as neighborhood social and assistance centers and coordinating job training activities.

Sensitivity training sessions have been held, including Mexican-Americans, Negro leaders and influential whites. We were told that it was during these meetings that Mexican-Americans realized that they should have some say in the operation of the city, and later organized SLAM.

One Saginaw auto industry plant has a tuition refund plan for all workers that wish educational upgrading. There was no indication as to the number of Mexican-Americans taking advantage of this program, however.

As noted before, the most severe problem appears to be in the area of housing. In contrast to other communities which we examined, however, there apparently are attempts to confront this crisis in Saginaw. The Human Relations Commission is empowered by the city's fair housing ordinance to bring punitive action in cases of housing discrimination. In other legal action the city has a rental inspection law, under which any property, before being rented or sold, must meet housing code requirements.

One Protestant church, with city technical assistance, has built a public housing project, which includes 140 two- and three-bedroom town house units. At present there are 365 other public housing units, and a 100-unit senior citizen project is planned. In addition, a "turnkey" project provides 14 units for the aged in a renovated theater.

The city of Saginaw has a scattered lease program, in which they rent housing from private landlords. The landlord must provide upkeep in accordance with city regulations. The city in turn rents these units to families at a low cost. The program is innovative in that the units are scattered over the city rather than being isolated in one poor area.

The officer of the city relocation agency with whom we talked reported that in most cases those families who are relocated experience an upgrading of housing facilities. In addition to helping individuals, the office maintains a list of available housing for the use of families who wish to find their own housing when forced to move because of urban renewal or highway projects.

Saginaw also has a Model Cities program, which at the time of the interviews was just getting under way. Apparently, this program will encompass the entire east side and like all Model Cities programs will emphasize community participation.

6. Flint

Flint is predominantly a working-class city, replete with factories of the automobile industry.

Flint's 1960 population of 196,940 includes about 37,000 Negroes, numerous poor Southern Appalachian whites recently emigrated from the deep South, and several thousand Mexican-Americans. In various public and private social welfare organizations, the city seemed heavily dependent upon and influenced by a large private foundation. In order to delineate the community structure of Flint's 800 Mexican-American families and its relation to other Flint minority groups as well as to the Anglo community, 15 people were interviewed:

From these sources we gathered that the Flint Mexican-Americans are well-established. Many have lived in Flint for at least 15 years and one school administrator noted that 9 of 11 Mexican-American children in a particular 7th grade class with which he was acquainted were born in Flint. A Mexican-American interviewee thought most newcomers to Flint joined relatives already living in the city.

Mexican-Americans do not claim a heavy concentration in any Flint residential area: rather, they are scattered throughout the city. The one area which might be heavily Mexican-American is the east side, a factory district, which also houses blacks. Many Mexican-Americans lived on the east side when they first arrived in Flint and as they became more secure and wealthier, they scattered through the city. Another interviewee suggested that Mexican-Americans have been dispersed throughout Flint but are beginning to head towards the north end, perhaps to be closer to a particular Catholic church. It seems that the Beecher District, located off N. Saginaw, has many Mexican-Americans. The Model Cities Office tentatively suggested 280 families in this area. The Beecher area is lower middle class and below; its residential sections have unpaved, rutted streets, many deteriorating houses, uncut lawns. Most sections are Negro with some white and Mexican-Americans.

The principal employers, not only of Mexican-Americans, but of nearly everyone in Flint, are major automobile factories and various foundries and other subsidiaries of the auto industry.

None of those interviewed knew of any employers with reputations for discriminating against or not hiring Mexican-Americans. An official of the Civil Rights Commission said that supervisors at automobile factories have had complaints lodged against them but the corporation policy apparently is not discriminatory. All the Mexican-Americans interviewed said they knew several foremen in the factories, as well as union leaders. They all said it was possible for a Mexican-American to be successful and rise in the factory hierarchy. One concluded "if they got the initiative and they want to do it, they just go right ahead and do it but a lot of them don't have the push."

Numerous Mexican-Americans own businesses in Flint. One owns a cleaners; another owns a radio-TV appliance repair shop; there are several restaurant owners including one who just opened a branch restaurant; and a bar owner. There are several doctors and some nurses. Thinking of the problems a Grand Rapids bar owner met with the police, the interviewer questioned one respondent about Mexican-American relations with the police in Flint. He said that the Mexican-American proprietor of a bar has had no trouble with the police, no harassment. He caters to a rough clientele and several murders have been committed in his bar but the police treat the bar "the same as any other bar." He said that generally the Mexican-American community as a group has no grievances against the police. Perhaps individuals hold a grudge against certain policemen but no issues or incidents surrounding Mexican-American police relations have developed. Two other Mexican-Americans seconded this opinion.

Because the Mexican-American population is scattered throughout Flint, few schools have high percentages of Mexican-American students. In 1968, 599 Mexican-American elementary, junior high and senior high students were dispersed among 54 schools. At one junior high school, for example, 30 Mexican-Americans were enrolled out of a total 1460 students; 19 Mexican-Americans attended a high school which has an enrollment of 2200. Discussions with two principals and a school board member showed that Flint schools have no programs specifically designed for Mexican-Americans. Two principals said they saw no need for bilingual programs, Mexican-American teachers or other Spanish-speaking staff members. Each of the principals had encountered isolated incidents with Mexican-American students who spoke little English and had used other children as interpreters. The Mexican-American students and parents in at least two schools are active and concerned. One junior high had a Mexican-American student council president at the time of the interview and both principals described parents of Mexican-American students as consistent participants in PTA, Parent-Teacher Conferences and other school activities.

The Flint school system is interestingly meshed with a local foundation school program. The community school philosophy envisions a neighborhood radiating around a school which is the cultural focal point of the community. Thus the program runs adult education classes, recreation programs, summer school, etc. Each school has a community school director to organize the program for that particular school. The foundation also has organized an immense complex of educational offerings for the entire city. These include English language classes and literacy training.

A foundation official said that at one time the Spanish-speaking Catholic church requested an English class for about 10 Mexican-Americans but, in 1968, 35 Mexican-Americans of 400 students were attending the basic reading course while in the overall high school completion program there were 75 Mexican-Americans among 4,000 students. The classes are well publicized -- a supplement describing the program is published in city newspapers before each new set of classes. Furthermore, the community school directors publicize the classes in their school districts. Thus, it seems likely that Mexican-Americans are at least aware of the program's existence.

The institution in which Flint Mexican-Americans seem most involved is the Church. Respondents estimated that about two-thirds of the Flint Mexican-American church-going population is Catholic and attends the Spanish-speaking church; the other third attends either the Spanish-speaking Baptist Church or the Pentecostal Church where Mexican-Americans hold services in Spanish in the basement. The Catholic Church has attempted to persuade Mexican-Americans and other minority groups to attend parishes in their neighborhood rather than establish nationality churches. Nonetheless, the Spanish-speaking church overflows every Sunday and Wednesday night when the priest says mass in Spanish. About 200 Mexican-Americans regularly attend the Protestant Spanish-speaking church. Both a priest and a minister claimed there is no cleavage between Mexican-American Protestants and Catholics; one interviewee remarked that some Catholics did feel Latin Americans "should" be Catholic and that Protestants were traitors. At any rate, no organizational divisions or factionalism based on religious differences appeared to exist.

The priest and the minister differed in their impressions of the religiosity of Flint Mexican-Americans. The priest said his parishioners are as devout as those in Texas or Cuba and that youth are as active in the church as their parents. Another interviewee said that American life distracts Mexican-Americans and others from a devout faith.

The Spanish-speaking Catholic church contains several organizations serving Mexican-Americans. Besides religious classes and the Knights of the Altar, the church sponsors a men's group, women's groups and a teen group. None meet in the summer because of the migrant influx. Affiliated with the church is the Cabelleras de San Juan, a strictly social organization which meets monthly at the International Institute. Its functions include helping the church, aiding poor families, sponsoring dances during the holiday seasons.

The American GI Forum is a Mexican-American organization independent of the church. The GI Forum was founded in Texas in 1943 to combat discrimination against Mexican-Americans. Veterans from World War II, the Korean war and the Vietnam war, plus their families, belong to the GI Forum. Proceeds from fund-raising go towards scholarships for Mexican-American youth. Two interviewees commented that the GI Forum is well connected with politics. Influential politicians have attended fund-raising events.

A subsidiary of the GI Forum is the Latin American Democratic Party. Its members are the same as those in the GI Forum but they are structurally distinct since the GI Forum is constitutionally unable to participate in politics. The L. A. Democratic Party works with the Democratic Party, holds rallies, raffles, and sponsors other events.

The United Mexicans evidently has not been active in a few years. One respondent referred to it as a club, rather than an organization since it is composed of about 8 people who pool money for emergencies.

Members of these groups are generally cooperative in the community, according to Anglo respondents. On one occasion they held a benefit for flood relief in Holland, Michigan and also raised money to bring a dying Mexican woman's children from Mexico to see her.

In actuality, most Mexican-Americans center activities around the church and would go to the church first in a crisis. Mexican-Americans in Flint are said to be reluctant to exploit community services available to them. However, many may not be aware such agencies exist. Correspondingly, some of the agencies seem equally oblivious of the Mexican-American community.

As of summer 1968, the Human Relations Commission had not received one complaint from a Mexican-American in the past four years. An official reported it has had complaints from Jews and Negroes over housing, employment, and private business, and he supposes Mexican-Americans face the same problems. But he indicated that he receives so many complaints that with a 15-man volunteer commission they cannot go soliciting problems from silent minorities. He said further that the Mexican-Americans in Flint are ignored by the Anglo community because of the Negro problem and the southern white migrants who conflict with the Inner City blacks.

On the other hand, a nun works with numerous Mexican-Americans through the Catholic social service agency. She helps newcomers find jobs, refers people to the International Institute to learn English, arranges for teen-agers to work with the Youth Corps. She primarily counsels Spanish-speaking people with marriage and family problems. She claimed that the Spanish-speaking people are often not aware of the agencies available to them; thus a large part of her job is referring people to appropriate agencies such as the Lions Club, Welfare, YWCA and YMCA, Legal Service, Mott Program. Generally, she explained, people need a little push to get them interested and moving. For example, every year, before Head Start begins, she reminds eligible families even though the school has already contacted them. She said she can often persuade families to send children by prodding because they trust her.

About 250 Mexican-American families were active in activities of an internationally-, interculturally-oriented service organization in 1967. That is, they either attended language or citizenship classes, served as volunteers in the agency, attended functions, or were involved in case work. An official said, "we have a good working relationship with the Mexican-Americans." In addition, the organization's board has one Mexican-American member while a Spanish-speaking clerk and housekeeper are also employees. The organization is attempting to obtain in the near future special workers to concentrate on the Mexican-American community and develop such projects as a family recreation program, a teen club, and to make better known community resources such as welfare or Children's Hospital. In the meantime, the organization may work with the Model Cities' program holding block meetings where people will become acquainted with services available to them.

The Model Cities' program will serve the Beecher district, among other areas, and an official said they are trying to interest Mexican-Americans in the community to participate. Since about 280 Mexican-American families live in the Beecher area alone, the administrator said he expressly wants to involve them. He intends to have at least one Spanish-speaking employee.

A community action program seemed less solicitous about the Flint Mexican-Americans. The program is funded mainly by OEO, with additional local community volunteer service and private contributions. Its two neighborhood centers, one in Beecher, the other in the Inner City, offer free legal service, adult education classes, camping trips for children, and run a Head Start program. In spite of the fact that a priest and a nun praised this agency for offering to help anyone whenever necessary, an official of the agency had no information on the Flint Mexican-Americans and had no programs encompassing them. After estimating the Mexican-American community at a few hundred individuals, the official said that he had not sought Mexican-Americans and they had not volunteered their service. A Head Start worker found that only six Spanish-speaking children are attending summer Head Start in Beecher and none are listed for year-round Head Start. Tentatively, he suggested the community action program did not deal with Mexican-Americans because they are too few, too transient, or are all above the poverty line.

The Flint Civil Rights Commission has attempted to establish "a working relationship" with the Mexican-American community without success. The State Civil Rights Commission has a Spanish-speaking employee who has lived and worked in Flint and is well known in the area. One member of the GI

Forum commented that the organization serves the same purpose as the Civil Rights Commission, implying that the Commission was unnecessary or superfluous. Members of the GI Forum are apparently aware of the functions of the Civil Rights Commission, as are Catholic clerical personnel who are constantly involved with Mexican-Americans. The existence of leaders who are familiar with community resources and simultaneously with Mexican-American concerns casts doubt on the theory that Mexican-Americans do not bring problems to city agencies because they do not know it is possible to do so. Such problems could easily get to the agencies second-hand through the Church, The Catholic Social Service, or the GI Forum.

At any rate, since 1964 Mexican-Americans have filed 62 complaints with Civil Rights Commissions throughout Michigan; one of these originated in Flint. The Flint Civil Rights Commission has actively sought participation and awareness of its existence and goals in its activities. Its official has made speeches, sent literature, attended meetings of Mexican-Americans and once Mexican-Americans were deliberately recruited for a police training program. The Flint office of the Civil Rights Commission has the highest percentage of complaints of any office in the state. Clearly, though, this record was not built through the efforts of the Flint Mexican-American.

Has the Mexican-American community in Flint by-passed or overcome the obstacles in areas such as housing and employment which other minorities yet face? Or does this community impotently ignore the discrimination around it, unaware of the possible options? The first alternative seems the most correct. Close to 30 percent of Flint's population is black. Several city officials remarked upon the growing conflict between the city's large "poor white" contingent, and the black community. Perhaps a well established

Mexican-American population of several thousands represents less of a threat to the Anglo community than do the blatantly visible, concentrated, potentially explosive black and poor white communities. Many Mexican-Americans in Flint are skilled craftsmen or businessmen with secure jobs and are consequently better paid on the average than Mexican-Americans in Grand Rapids appear to be. They have often lived in Flint for over a decade and speak fluent English and so the Anglo community is less aware of their existence as a group. If the trend for Mexican-Americans to move to the northern part of Flint continues, the Mexican-American may become more visible.

A Civil Rights Commission official described the Flint Mexican-American community as "clannish but not organized." It is not a militant, aggressive, political community nor even an especially unified community, especially compared to Grand Rapids and Saginaw. Its real claim to cohesion lies in the unity focused around a Catholic church. There appear to be no threats, harassments, issues or incidents to unite the Flint Mexican-Americans other than socially, as in the Cabelleros de San Juan, for service, as in the GI Forum, or for mutual aid with the United Mexicans.

The perceptual flaw in the image of a complacent relatively satisfied Flint is one Mexican-American respondent's examples of discrimination in Flint and her insistence that they have problems but "don't know where to go." She said that in some ways people did not realize or verbalize the fact that they had been victims of discrimination. Correspondingly, it is possible that the people interviewed were deceiving themselves concerning the position of Mexican-Americans in Flint. It is also possible that the respondent in question is overly sensitive, that she has read discrimination in innocuous actions, or that she has unfortunately found the "isolated" incidents of discrimination that everyone mentioned. On the other hand, the respondent who reported problems lives in a relatively poor neighborhood and may see more problems than respondents from middle-class areas. This dichotomy might represent the situation in Flint--perhaps there is a gap between the fairly numerous, successful Mexican-Americans and the more recent migrant laborer drop-outs new to the community. One interviewee confessed awareness of envy or hostility between people who have "made it" and those who haven't. He thought it improbable but possible that he and other middle class Mexican-Americans are unaware of the "isolated incidents" of discrimination which occur repeatedly to the small group of people who are indeed ignorant of the community services available to them. What are "isolated incidents" to the successful Mexican-American may be a pattern to the poorer person. This might aid in explaining why the Flint Mexican-Americans are, in the words of one respondent, "an invisible community."

Observations

Several themes run through the community studies. From the Mexican-American respondents we get the impression of increasing organizational activity after a history of minor organizational efforts and failures. OEO-related organizations are mentioned frequently in the reports. Demands for assimilation and conformity come into some of the comments of Anglos. And feelings of ethnic invisibility and discrimination are reported by some of the Mexican-Americans.

On the organizational level, there have been various ethnic organizations over the years, mostly localized but some in state-wide federations. Many of these have folded and others have become inactive, and some attitudes of futility arise from this history. However, with the rise of new agencies associated with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Model Cities Program, some new organizational activity has been generated and new leadership has been developing. Also, the rise of the civil rights movement and other activities of blacks has been followed by Mexican-American activism, first in the Southwest and, more recently in the Midwest.[1]

The new activists are not entirely self-confident, however. Leaders report on their various problems in these interviews from the communities. Often unstated are the limitations on organizational power arising from small numbers, geographical dispersion and some degree of socio-economic diversity. In addition, various of the respondents said that they considered the lack of Mexican-Americans' ability to stand up and speak in public meetings to be a handicap. This was frequently attributed to feelings of inadequacy in the use of English, but may also derive from a lack of experience in voluntary associations.

With regard to agencies, two of the central themes are that much of the public agency work that leaders have been involved in is sponsored by the OEO community action programs and the OEO migrant programs. Before going further in discussing these, it should be indicated that various leaders have indicated that they viewed the community action programs and the manpower training programs in their localities to be dominated by blacks within their governing boards and their personnel and that their services are provided mainly to other blacks. This situation, of course, is reported by them with some resentment, and some of the conflicts reported in the community studies relate to this, particularly in Grand Rapids. In some cities, particular community action neighborhood centers are controlled by Mexican-Americans, and in those places, this complaint is not relevant.

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[1] See Laura Morlock, "Mexican-American Civic Leadership in a Midwestern City," 1969, mimeo., Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.

The agency supported by the OEO migrant program did and does serve Mexican-Americans. This agency has employed several staff members from the group and has conducted a variety of programs, some serving migrant workers during summer, others designed to help workers leave agriculture and to learn skills for settlement. This program has contracted in size over the years for several reasons, and this has disappointed some Mexican-Americans, as have other OEO programs, which were funded on a year-to-year application basis and some of which folded.

Many Mexican-American respondents reported a need for social programs, especially prepared for Spanish-speaking persons, especially in the areas of the schools and job training. In this need, they indicate that children and adults could succeed with bilingual teaching. Another frequent request was for Spanish-speaking staff members in social welfare and other municipal agencies to be able to converse with Spanish-speaking clients. Several Anglo agency administrators indicated a willingness to hire such persons, but an inability to do so because of budgetary limitations.

Mexican-American leaders indicated to a greater degree than others did, that there is discrimination against their ethnic group in Michigan communities. They report this discrimination in the housing market, within factories and labor unions, and in police-community relations. Either these leaders are more aware of or sensitive to such discrimination than are the respondents in the sample survey, or they are more verbal about it. Our interpretation is that most Mexican-Americans confine their social contacts to those "safe" ones, and hence avoid overt discrimination. Leaders, on the other hand, may become involved in cases which do occur and may receive more information than others do.

Perhaps the greatest area of conflict, or at least of a conflict of points of view, relates to demands for assimilation on the part of Anglo administrators and the demand for a cultural re-awakening on the part of ethnic leaders. These leaders also request from Anglos a respect for a distinctive and different culture. An additional complaint from ethnic leaders is that to influential Anglos within the community, their group is "invisible" in some sense, or at least perceived to be not in need of any special treatment or services from the Anglo community. They indicate that there is no recognition of the discrimination they feel or of any need to deal with this or other Mexican-American problems.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLING DESIGN, LISTING AND PERFORMANCE

1. The Design of the Sample

The sampling technique called "controlled selection sampling" was chosen in consultation with Dr. Leslie Kish, Miss Irene Hess and Mr. Graham Kalton of the Institute for Social Research,[1] University of Michigan, in order to produce a probability sample of the Mexican-American population in 17 counties in Michigan.

Controlled selection sampling[2] was chosen because of the desire to provide some geographical dispersion and to assure proportionate representation of urban and rural areas, while giving each county a probability of selection proportionate to its estimated number of Mexican-American families. This modification of stratified sampling techniques is uniquely suited to the sampling design problems encountered in this kind of study where certain judgmental decisions are introduced but a probability sample is desired. Controlled selection saves studies like ours from foregoing probability sampling for a purposive sample.

Several characteristics of the population to be sampled complicated the design and implementation of the sampling procedure, namely:

(1) We are sampling rare items. There are relatively few Mexican-Americans in the total population of the state, perhaps 100,000 out of a total population of roughly 8,000,000.

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[1] The authors would like to express their great appreciation for the generous assistance provided and to emphasize that any defects in the sampling procedure are completely the responsibility of the authors.

[2] Goodman, Roe and Leslie Kish, "Controlled Selection - A Technique in Probability Sampling," Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 45 (Sept., 1950), 350-372.

(2) The population is dispersed. The cases are not concentrated in a couple of places where they can be easily found. They are scattered throughout perhaps a dozen cities and scores of small towns and farming areas.

(3) The population is not reliably listed. There is no single list of names and addresses of the population in question by large areas such as counties or communities.

(4) The population is highly mobile. Many of the persons in question are newcomers, and they move about from town to town and from residence to residence within towns at high rates.

The resources we brought to bear upon the problem consisted of information gathered from many sources in the early phases of our research. We were prepared to make rough estimates of the population of Mexican-Americans in counties and incorporated places in the state.

These were assembled through contacts with knowledgeable persons in the field, such as agency personnel, leaders of Mexican-American organizations and Catholic clergymen. They were contacted either by phone or through personal visits. We also made a survey through mail questionnaires of all the county agricultural agents in the state, who provided information concerning settled Mexican-Americans in their areas. We also examined information from the 1960 census concerning the "foreign stock" Mexican population in counties and selected communities.

We also brought to bear considerable information on the settlement patterns throughout the state and on the social and economic characteristics of communities and regions in the state. Some of this information was incorporated into the sampling design.

The first decision was to drop the community as the initial sampling unit and to move to the county. The initial rationale for studying communities was that there is a set of communities in which Mexican-Americans settle and in which they form ethnic subcommunities. However, in discussing the sample design, it became apparent that there was no adequate method of defining the boundaries of communities and that there are some inter-community systems which complicate the situation. In other words, some of the Mexican-Americans live on farms outside of towns and work on the farms or commute to town. How then is the area of the community defined? By a circle five or ten miles around the town? How can lists be prepared on this basis? These problems were solved by using counties as sampling units.

The next question was that of which counties were to be included. An examination of the distribution of the population revealed that virtually all the Mexican-Americans in the state are settled in the 41 counties below a line about midway across the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. The three counties comprising the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, estimated to include perhaps half of the permanently resident Mexican-American families in Michigan, were excluded from the sample because of the impossibility of listing households for second stage sampling within the budget of the survey.

Within these counties there were four size clusters in the distribution of settled Mexican-Americans. Four counties had an estimated 800 to 2500 families; three counties had 400 to 600 families; 10 counties had 100 to 250 families; 21 counties had less than 90 families.

It was decided that the expense of listing and interviewing in the 21 counties having fewer than 100 families would be so great as to be prohibitive and that the remaining counties composed a meaningful study population. Therefore, the universe to be sampled was settled Mexican-American families in 17 counties.

The method of controlled selection sampling requires the outlining of strata based upon important characteristics, the assignment of areas to the strata, and the selection of areas from the various strata. In our particular problem, the probability of any given area (county) being selected in the final sample was proportional to the estimated number of settled Mexican-American families in the county. The three criteria utilized for the outlining of strata were:

(1) The geographical region within the state

(2) The estimated number of settled Mexican-American families

(3) The presence or absence of a large city within the county (whether or not the county comprised or was included in an SMSA).

Since the four counties, Saginaw, Ingham, Kent and Lenawee, having more than 800 families each represented more than half the total population to be studied; since they represented all the geographic regions; and since their large numbers of families would have given them very high weightings in the drawing of the sample, it was decided that good sample design required that all of them be included in the sample.

The remaining 13 counties were assigned to three strata approximately equal in size (estimated number of settled Mexican-Americans) and homogeneous with respect to the presence or absence of a large city within the county. From each stratum one county was selected with probability proportionate to size. The selection process also controlled on geographical distribution of the sample (whether a county was located to the east, to the west, or in the central part of the state). The controlled process used to select the three sample counties is presented in Table B-1. There it can be seen that (1) each pattern included three counties, one from each of the three strata; and (2) the exact selection probability of each of the 13 counties was maintained.

Table B-1
CONTROLLED SELECTION FOR 13 COUNTIES HAVING 100 OR MORE ESTIMATED MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

STRATUM	EAST	CENTRAL	WEST	STRATUM
1	GEN 500 (.53) BAY 350 (.37)	JACK 100 (.10)		950 (1.00)
11			MUS 450 (.48) OTT 250 (.27) KAL 230 (.25)	930 (1.00)
111	LAP 150 (.16) ST CL 140 (.15)	CALH 180 (.19) GRAT 100 (.11)	ALG 130 (.14) OCE 130 (.14) NEW 100 (.11)	930 (1.00)
REGION TOTAL	1140 (1.21)	380 (.40)	1290 (1.39)	(3.00)

	1	2	3	4*	5	6	7	8	9	10
CUM P	.19	.35	.45	.56	.67	.79	.84	.86	.89	1.00
PATTERN P	.19	.16	.10	.11	.11	.12	.05	.02	.03	.11
REMAINING P	.81	.65	.55	.44	.33	.21	.16	.14	.11	.00
	BAY^c OTT^w CALH^c	BAY^e MUS^w LAP^e	JK^c MUS^w ST C^e	GEN^e KAL^w NEW^w	GEN^e MUS^w GRAT^c	GEN^e KAL^w OCE^w	GEN^e OTT^w ST C^e	BAY^e KAL^w OCE^w	GEN^e OTT^w ALG^w	GEN^e MUS^w ALG^w

Abbreviations:

GEN: Genesee
BAY: Bay
ALG: Allegan
LAP: Lapeer
ST C: Saint Clair
OCE: Oceans
JACK: Jackson
GRAT: Gratiot
NEW: Newaygo
CALH: Calhoun
MUS: Muskegon
OTT: Ottawa
KAL: Kalamazoo

*Pattern selected by drawing a random number.

One pattern was selected by a random process and its inclusion provided the three counties to complete the set of counties included, bringing the total to seven. Each pattern had the maximum possible coverage on size category, geographical region and presence or absence of SMSA.

The sample selected, then, consisted of four counties that were given a probability of one since they accounted in total for more than half of the Mexican-American families living outside of the Detroit SMSA. The counties chosen with certainty were Saginaw (est. 2,500), Kent (est. 10,000), Ingham (est. 900) and Lenawee (est. 750). Each of the additional three counties selected represents its stratum, although its probability of selection depended upon its estimated proportion of families within that stratum.

When the selection of sample counties was made from the three strata, it was not known what overall sampling rate would be needed to obtain the desired sample size. The uncertainty about the sampling rate existed because of the doubtful quality of the estimated numbers of settled Mexican-Americans. It was thought desirable to determine the sampling rate after lists of eligible families had been compiled for each sample county. Because Newaygo County was estimated to have only 100 of the 930 families in stratum III, it was recognized that a problem would arise if the overall sampling rate exceeded 1/9.3.* In that event, two possibilities were considered: (1) interview all

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*To achieve an overall sampling rate of f, the rate (1/X) within Newaygo County would be determined thus:

$$\frac{100}{930} \times \frac{1}{X} = f$$

$$X = \frac{930f}{100} \text{ , and } \frac{1}{X} = \frac{100}{930f}$$

It is clear that if 930f = 100, the sampling rate within the county is 1 and all Mexican-American families in Newaygo County are to be interviewed. When 930f is greater than 100, the sampling rate within the county exceeds 1; hence all families are to be interviewed and some must be doubleweighted. When 930f is less than 930, the sampling rate within the county is less than 1, and a subsample of families is to be designated for interviewing.

Mexican-American families in Newaygo County and doubleweight a subsample of them; or (2) choose a second sample county from stratum III and let that stratum be represented by a probability selection of two primary areas rather than by only one. The latter course was chosen, and Oceana county was added as the eighth county in which listing and interviewing was to be done. This addition, it should be noted, was made on a judgmental basis and therefore involves a departure from a strict probability selection design. Ideally, a probability choice should have been made between Allegan and Oceana counties. But the costs of listing and interviewing in Allegan were sufficiently higher to warrant the selection of the alternative county contiguous to Newaygo. The main practical advantage of this sample design is that it represents an approximation of a probability sample survey of the settled Mexican-American population in 17 counties. For that reason the study has become a sample survey of the Mexican-Americans of the state of Michigan (excluding only the Detroit SMSA comprising three counties), which can with risk be taken as an example of a state in the North Central Region in which this kind of settlement is taking place. It is no longer only a study of ex-migrants in selected communities. The community level analysis can still be made, but in addition, the study generates facts about the entire population based upon the sample survey.

For example, with a given level of confidence, the study generates estimates such as: the percentage of the population employed; the percentage literate; the percentage migrating with their families. In addition, all the relations between variables proposed in the study can be made, in fact, in more effective ways.

2. Listing

The steps following the drawing of the counties in the sample were listing all the Mexican Americans in these counties and drawing a sample of households from the list.

Listing was a job of considerable difficulty, given the fact that there is no consistently available and reliable set of lists for each unit to be sampled, and that this population has the characteristics listed above. The list of households was prepared from the following sources:

(1) City directories. In the counties with cities, their city directories were searched for Spanish surnames.

(2) Catholic church parish listings and diocesan census. The churches maintain mailing lists and the Lansing diocese took a census in 1966, which includes two of the counties. Both of these were available to us. The census required examination for Spanish surnames and "Spanish spoken in the home."

(3) Organizational lists. Several of the Mexican American organizations in the state have good lists of Mexican Americans which were made available to us.

(4) Agency lists. Some welfare agencies in the state serving ex-migrants or Mexican Americans have lists, which they made available to us. In some areas, agencies had made recent censuses of Mexican Americans.

(5) Field interviews. We made a prelisting in the field to establish the final list. This consisted of "checking out" and supplementing the lists assembled from the other lists.

(6) We then established a procedure for collating information from the various listings.

The sources of the list compiled for each county are shown in Table B-2.

Table B-2

LIST SOURCES BY COUNTIES

County	Telephone Book	City Directory	Suburb Directory	Catholic Church	Protestant Church	MMOI	LAUPA GI-Forum	OEO	County School Census	Per. List	Search Procedure	Misc.
Genesee (7)	X	X	X	X			X			X		X
Ingham (3)	X	X		X								
Kalamazoo (7)	X	X	X				X		X	X	X	
Kent (11)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Lenawee (6)	X	X		X		X				X		X
Newaygo (6)	X			X		X		X	X	X		
Oceana (5)	X			X		X		X	X			
Saginaw (6)	X	X	X	X		X			X			
TOTALS	8	6	4	7	1	5	3	3	5	5	2	2

As an example of our listing procedure let us consider the Kent County list which is probably the most complete and comprehensive of all of the county lists, since every source was used there. To begin our list in Kent County, all Spanish-sounding surnames and addresses were copied from the city directory. We placed these names on 3 x 5 cards and filed them alphabetically. We then copied all Spanish-sounding surnames and addresses from the Grand Rapids suburban directory onto 3 x 5 cards and filed those not already in our file. We then used the Grand Rapids area telephone directory and repeated the procedure, filing all new cards. This was done in the Lansing office. Field work began with the next stage. Since most Mexican-Americans are Catholics, we began to search for additional lists of Mexican-Americans at those

Catholic parishes with large numbers of Mexican American residents. A parish located in the inner city of Grand Rapids was most helpful in providing a list of Mexican Americans in that area. Another parish on the near southwest side of Grand Rapids which has a large number of Mexican Americans provided us with a list of Mexican American parishioners. These lists were then collated with our previous lists. Occasionally we discovered identical names with two or more different addresses. In these cases we assumed that it was one person with two different addresses, rather than two different people with separate addresses. We also visited Protestant ministers who worked with Spanish-speaking people. These churches had not only Mexican American members but also Puerto Rican, Cuban and other Latin Americans. We asked for lists of non-Mexican Americans (Latins, also) because these were useful in eliminating non-Mexicans from our directory lists. One Cuban minister was able to provide us with a list of some 100 Cuban families. A Puerto Rican minister of the Church of God, Hispania, also provided us with a list of Puerto Ricans who live in Kent County. The regional office of Michigan Migrant Opportunity, Inc. (an OEO-funded project to help settle drop-outs from the migrant stream) also helped us by providing lists of people of Mexican American descent with whom his office had been working. In Grand Rapids there is a chapter of LAUPA, Latin Americans United for Political Action. That organization provided us with a list of their members. We also visited the branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity Community Action Program in Grand Rapids. A Mexican American staff member at the Franklin Hall Complex and another Mexican American who works at the West Side complex were both able to provide us with personal lists that they had developed in their work at the separate complexes with Mexican American clients. We also were able to use the Kent County Intermediate School District's 1966 classroom census. This census is taken each year for the purpose of determining the amount of state aid to be allotted to a particular school. The list contains the names of every school child in the county and the name and address of the child's parents. In Grand Rapids we employed a long-time Mexican American resident to carry out a search procedure. This procedure was quite simple and provided many new names and addresses but proved rather costly. In this procedure, our assistant would visit or call a Mexican American in a given neighborhood. He would ask the person for other names and addresses of Mexican Americans in that area. Upon receiving these new names he would then begin calling upon these people and asking for additional new names and addresses. This procedure was then repeated; at each stage new names were added. We were able to obtain nearly 500 names and addresses with this procedure. Grand Rapids and Kent County are the most complete for several reasons. The field director is a native of that area and is better acquainted with the area. This was the first area to be worked for additional lists and there was more urgency for the list to be completed immediately because of the planned pilot study to be undertaken there.

Some of these procedures were repeated in other counties and some were not. Without a doubt our most valuable field source for new lists were the Catholic churches and organizations in the sample counties. For example, Ingham County was made rather complete due to the comprehensive mailing list loaned to us by the Cristo Rey Catholic Community Center in Lansing. We used the search procedure in only one other county, Kalamazoo. As mentioned before, this procedure is costly and requires rather hard-to-find personnel. The Kalamazoo search was much less effective due to the fact that the man we hired there could only work part-time and had only lived in Kalamazoo for 1 1/2 years. In those counties where MMOI operated, they cooperated fully with us not only in providing lists but also in referring us to sources of other lists.

The use of county school census lists was also quite valuable. Had we been able to wait another six months, the 1967 census would have been available to us.

But even with this up-to-date list we would have had the problem of listing not only non-Mexican American "Latinos" but some non- "Latinos" with Spanish-sounding names. Our pilot study showed that our two major sources of error in the lists were non-Mexican Americans or wrong addresses due to change of residence. The change of residence error could have been somewhat reduced by better utilizing the school census lists.

Nevertheless, we were able to equal or better the number of families estimated for each county except Newaygo and Oceana. The field director made 24 trips and travelled nearly 4400 miles to secure supplementary lists in the sample counties. These trips served a dual purpose: they helped find and develop lists of Mexican-Americans and they provided an opportunity for the field director to meet approximately 65 people who came in daily contact with large numbers of Mexican-Americans in their respective areas. He was able to explain the project to these people in detail, answer their questions and help locate possible sources of people to be hired later as interviewers and area data collection supervisors.

3. Sample Performances

Having selected the counties in the first stage sample and completed the listing of as many of the Mexican-American families within these counties as completely as possible given our resources, we proceeded in consultation with the Sampling Section of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, to determine the overall sampling rate. Given our analysis needs and the estimated cost per interview, it was decided finally to apply a sampling fraction that would generate 845 interviews. Double this number of households was drawn since we estimated that attrition of the sample might be as high as 50 percent. The number of interviews drawn shown in

Table B-3

INTERVIEW COMPLETION RATE BY COUNTY

	Estimated Number of Mexican American Families For Controlled Selection Sampling 1	Number of Households Listed 2	Number of Households Drawn For Sample 3	Number in Sample Who Should Have Been Interviewed[1] 4	Number Interviewed[2] 5	Completion Rate (% of Col. 4 Completed) 6
Oceana	130	205	151	53	39	73.6
Newaygo	100	101	74	47	32	68.1
Kent	900	958	194	61	43	70.5
Kalamazoo	230	305	224	66	54	81.8
Ingham	800	965	175	119	98	82.4
Lenawee	750	978	178	106	86	81.1
Genesee	500	973	335	176	130	73.9
Saginaw	2500	2069	376	270	213	78.9
TOTALS	5910	6554	1707	898	695	77.4

1. Col. 4 is the total in Col. 3 less:
    1) Duplicate addresses
    2) Moved out of county
    3) Unlocatable address
    4) Deceased
    5) Non-Mexican American ethnicity
2. Col. 5 is the total in Col. 4 less:
    1) Never at home
    2) Not interviewable
    3) Refusals

Col. 3 of Table B-3 does not correspond precisely to the overall sampling rate of 18 percent (or the appropriate inflation of the fraction for counties representing the three strata) because duplicate addresses had not been completely eliminated from the lists and therefore were deleted from the sample drawn. The sample was further reduced by the elimination of households that had moved out of the county but not into another falling within the sample (9.5%), of households not having locatable addresses (12.3%), of deceased household heads (0.6%) and of non-Mexican American households (22.0%). The inclusion of non-Mexican Americans in the sample was by far the major problem encountered and the major reason for substantial diminution of the sample originally drawn. Table B-4 indicates high variability by county in the percents of non-Mexican Americans listed and drawn. This can be accounted for largely by two factors: greater proportions of households listed were drawn from directories by searching for Spanish-surnames in some counties than in others, and those listing Spanish-surnames differed in their ability to distinguish such names from other similar ones, particularly certain Italian names. These names, like those eliminated for the other reasons mentioned above, did not belong to the population being studied and ideally should have never been listed or eliminated prior to drawing the sample. It was, of course, impossible to do this until an actual attempt at contact had been made. We have not, therefore, considered these deletions in calculating the completion rate shown in Table B-3.

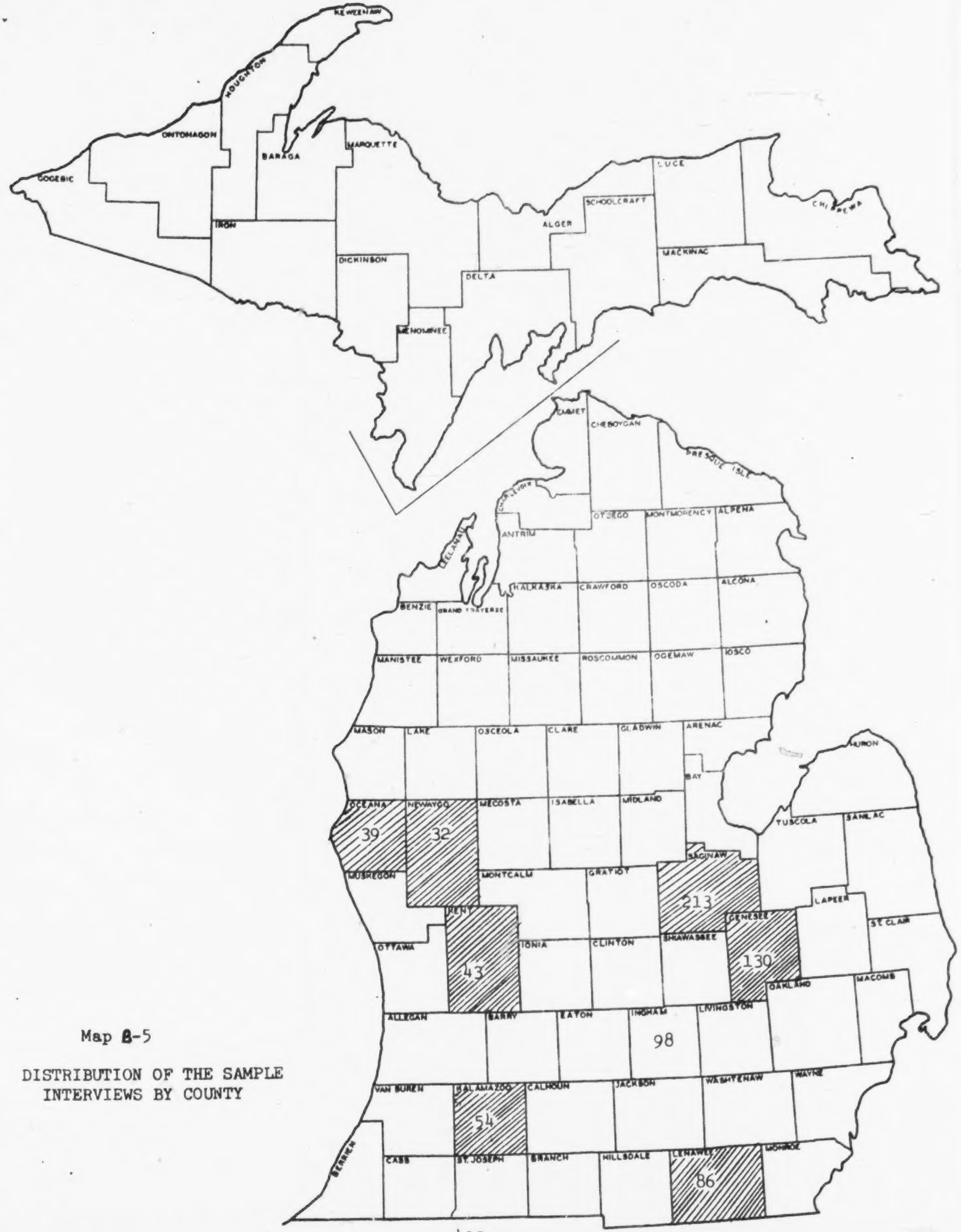
If we consider, then, that the remaining 898 household heads should have been interviewed, the final attrition in this sample can be attributed to failure to interview despite repeated call-backs (5.5%), illness, detention or physical disability of the head of household (2.0%) or direct refusal to be interviewed (15.1%).

It is interesting to note that in designing the sample we assumed that according to our estimates, 64 percent of the Mexican-American population of Michigan outside the Detroit area would be included in the four counties (Saginaw, Ingham, Kent, Lenawee) selected with certainty and that 36 percent would be included in those 13 counties from which three would be drawn by controlled selection. The results turned out remarkably close to this assumption, with 63.3 percent of the total interviews having been collected in the first category and 36.7 percent in the second. Map B-5 shows the distribution of interviews which were the basis for this report.

Table B-4

SOURCES OF SAMPLE ATTRITION BY COUNTY

	Oceana		Newaygo		Kent		Kalamazoo		Ingham		Lenawee		Genesee		Saginaw		Sample Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Completed interviews	39	32.0	32	46.4	43	23.1	54	26.0	98	57.6	86	50.0	130	39.9	213	58.8	695	43.0
Moved out of county	48	39.3	14	20.3	15	08.1	6	02.9	4	02.4	27	15.7	23	07.1	17	04.7	154	09.5
Wrong address	16	13.1	1	01.4	36	19.4	31	14.9	16	09.4	13	07.6	58	17.8	27	07.5	198	12.3
Never at home	6	04.9	2	02.9	6	03.2	8	03.8	2	01.2	11	06.4	10	03.1	4	01.1	49	03.0
Deceased	0	00.0	0	00.0	0	00.0	1	00.5	0	00.0	0	00.0	7	02.1	2	00.6	10	00.6
Non-Mexican American	5	04.1	7	10.1	74	39.8	104	50.0	31	18.2	26	15.1	62	19.0	46	12.7	355	22.0
Could not be interviewed	4	03.3	1	01.4	3	01.6	2	00.9	1	00.6	1	00.6	1	00.3	5	01.4	18	01.1
Refused	4	03.3	12	17.4	9	04.8	2	00.9	18	10.6	8	04.7	35	10.7	48	13.3	136	08.4
TOTAL	122		69		186		208		170		172		326		362		1615	


KEWEENAW
HOUGHTON
ONTONAGON
GOGEBIC
BARAGA
MARQUETTE
IRON
DICKINSON
MENOMINEE
DELTA
ALGER
SCHOOLCRAFT
LUCE
CHIPPEWA
MACKINAC
EMMET
CHEBOYGAN
PRESQUE ISLE
CHARLEVOIX
ANTRIM
OTSEGO
MONTMORENCY
ALPENA
LEELANAU
KALKASKA
CRAWFORD
OSCODA
ALCONA
BENZIE
GRAND TRAVERSE
MANISTEE
WEXFORD
MISSAUKEE
ROSCOMMON
OGEMAW
IOSCO
MASON
LAKE
OSCEOLA
CLARE
GLADWIN
ARENAC
HURON
BAY
OCEANA
39
NEWAYGO
32
MECOSTA
ISABELLA
MIDLAND
TUSCOLA
SANILAC
SAGINAW
213
MUSKEGON
MONTCALM
GRATIOT
LAPEER
KENT
ST CLAIR
GENESEE
130
OTTAWA
43
IONIA
CLINTON
SHIAWASSEE
OAKLAND
MACOMB
ALLEGAN
BARRY
EATON
INGHAM
98
LIVINGSTON
VAN BUREN
KALAMAZOO
54
CALHOUN
JACKSON
WASHTENAW
WAYNE
BERRIEN
CASS
ST. JOSEPH
BRANCH
HILLSDALE
LENAWEE
86
MONROE

Map B-5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE INTERVIEWS BY COUNTY

We have been disturbed by the possibility that our listing of families prior to selection of the sample from which the 695 interviews were finally derived might have failed to include substantial numbers of extremely poor and residentially unstable families. If this is the case, then our findings will be biased upward giving a more favorable picture of the present status of Mexican-Americans in Michigan than is actually warranted. We attempted to allay our suspicions of this possible source of bias (both in listing before sample selection and in inability to complete interviews due to failure to locate the family or the refusal of the head to be interviewed) by carrying out, in Lansing and Grand Rapids, a small checking project.

First, to check on listing bias, we asked our supervisors and several other people well informed about the Mexican-American community, especially its extreme poverty cases, to list for us the poorest families they knew. We then checked to see if these families had been listed by us originally. In most cases they had either been listed or need not have been since they were not families which had completed at least one winter in Michigan and thus fell outside the universe we were studying.

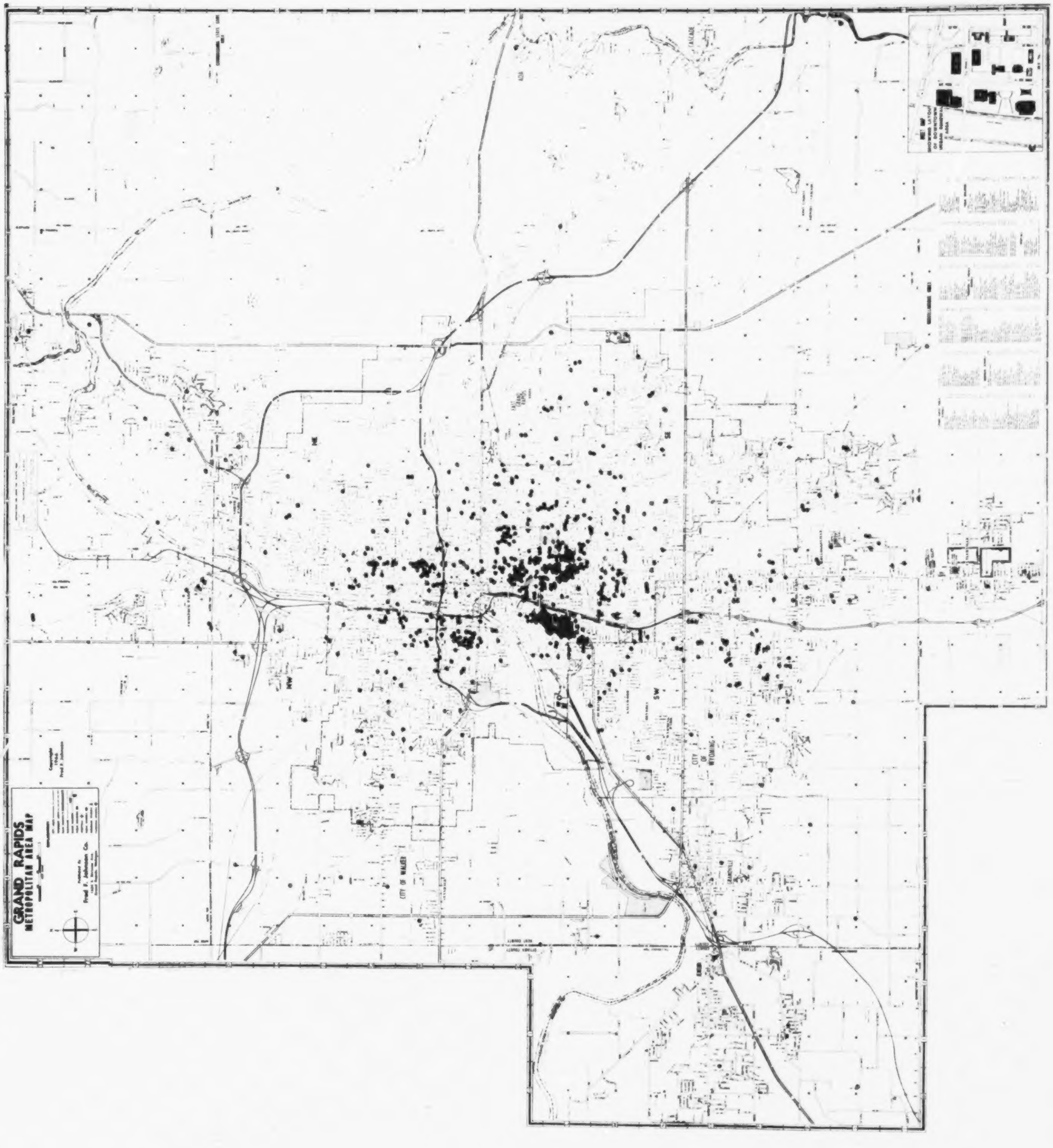
Second, we requested the supervisor in each of the two counties to list information on the kind of neighborhood (economic level), occupation, employment and marital status of each of the refusals. We find that characteristics of the refusals were very similar to those of the respondents indicating that there was probably little bias of non-response from this source.

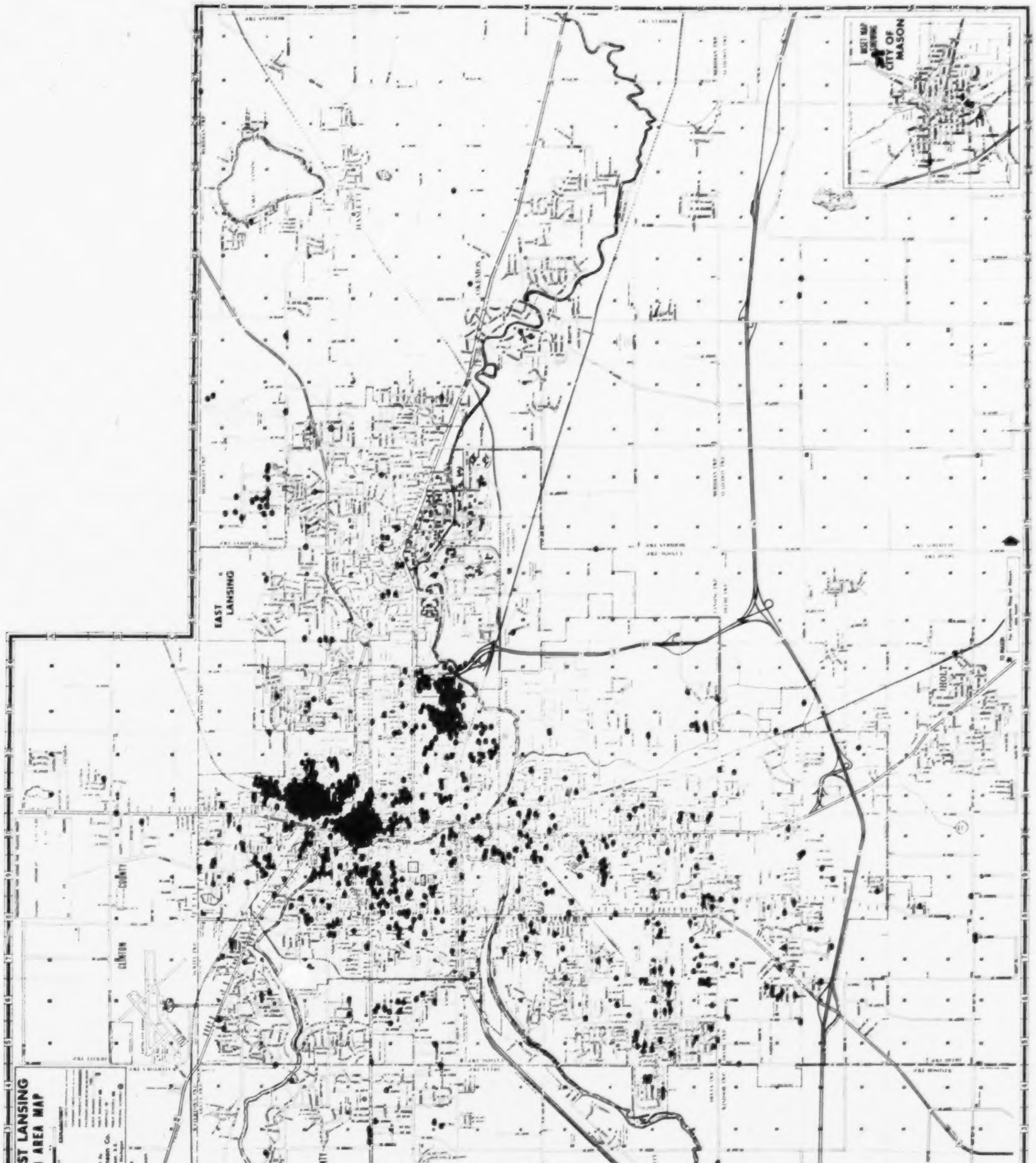
4. Geographical Dispersion of Households Listed For Sampling.

The maps of the larger cities studied, Grand Rapids, Lansing, Flint, Kalamazoo and Saginaw, indicate the locations of households identified by Spanish surnames. These households were located in the preparation of lists for sampling purposes, as described above.

Examination of the maps indicate both the absolute size of the Spanish surname population in each city as well as its concentration and distribution throughout the city. Each Spanish surname household is shown on the map by a black dot. Areas which appear to be densely black-dotted on the maps may have more households than are indicated since the space within blocks on the maps sometimes did not allow enough area for all the dots which belong in them.

One distortion which is in the heavily-black-dotted areas is that they appear to be completely Mexican-American barrios, with no other ethnic groups present. This is not the case in any neighborhood in any of the cities studied. We found no neighborhood which was exclusively Mexican-American. This population lived in neighborhoods with low-income Anglos or working class Anglos, sometimes with Negroes or Negroes and Anglos. Heavily-dotted areas on the maps usually indicate areas of high-density, low-quality housing.


GRAND RAPIDS
METROPOLITAN AREA MAP
Published by
Fred F. Johnson Co.
CITY OF WALKER
CITY OF WYOMING
NW
SW


LANSING - EAST LANSING
METROPOLITAN AREA MAP
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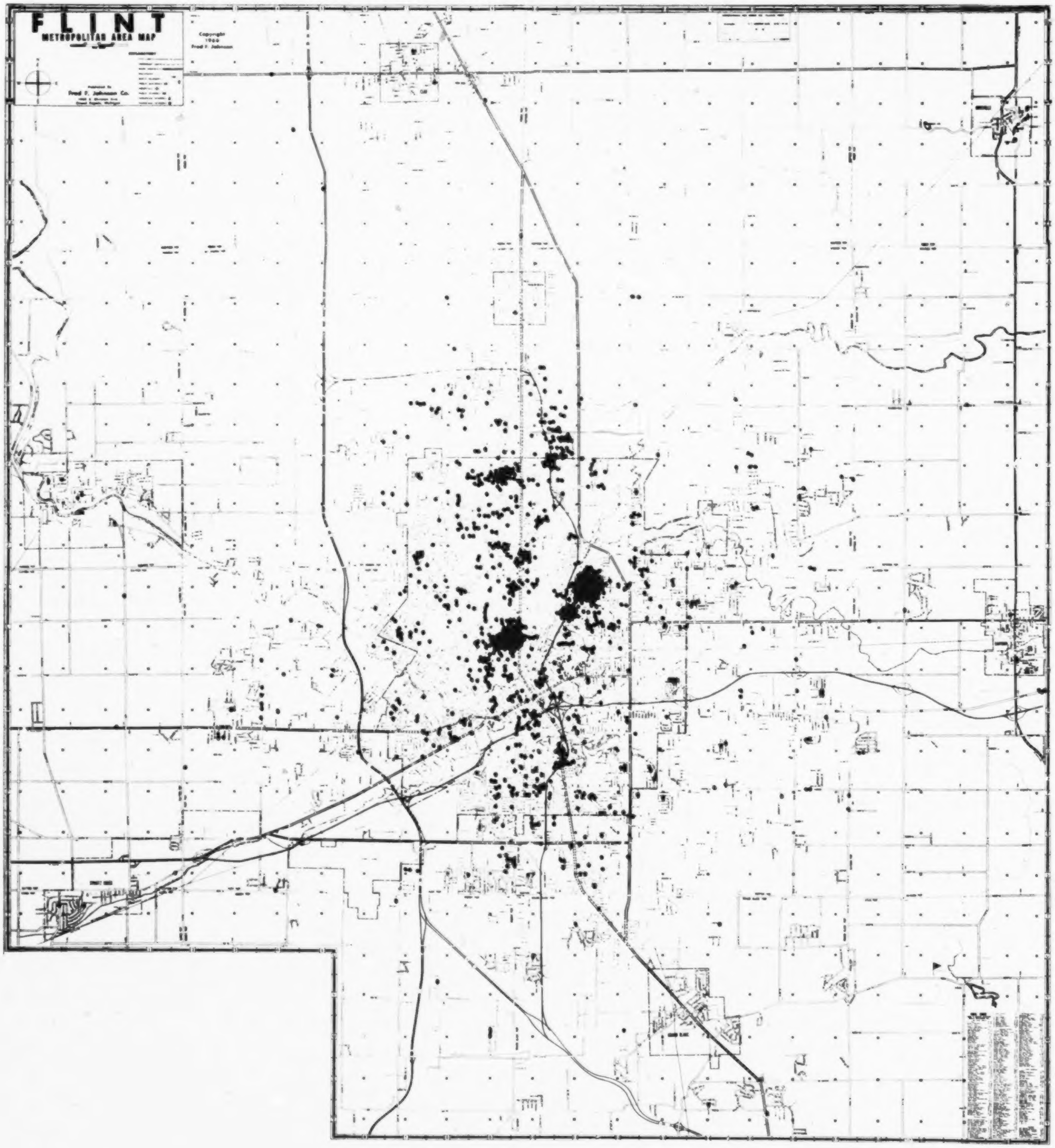
1966
Fred F. Johnson
EAST LANSING
OKEMOS
HASLETT
HOLT
DIMONDALE
CLINTON COUNTY
EATON COUNTY
INSET MAP SHOWING CITY OF MASON
MISC. INDEX


FLINT
METROPOLITAN AREA MAP
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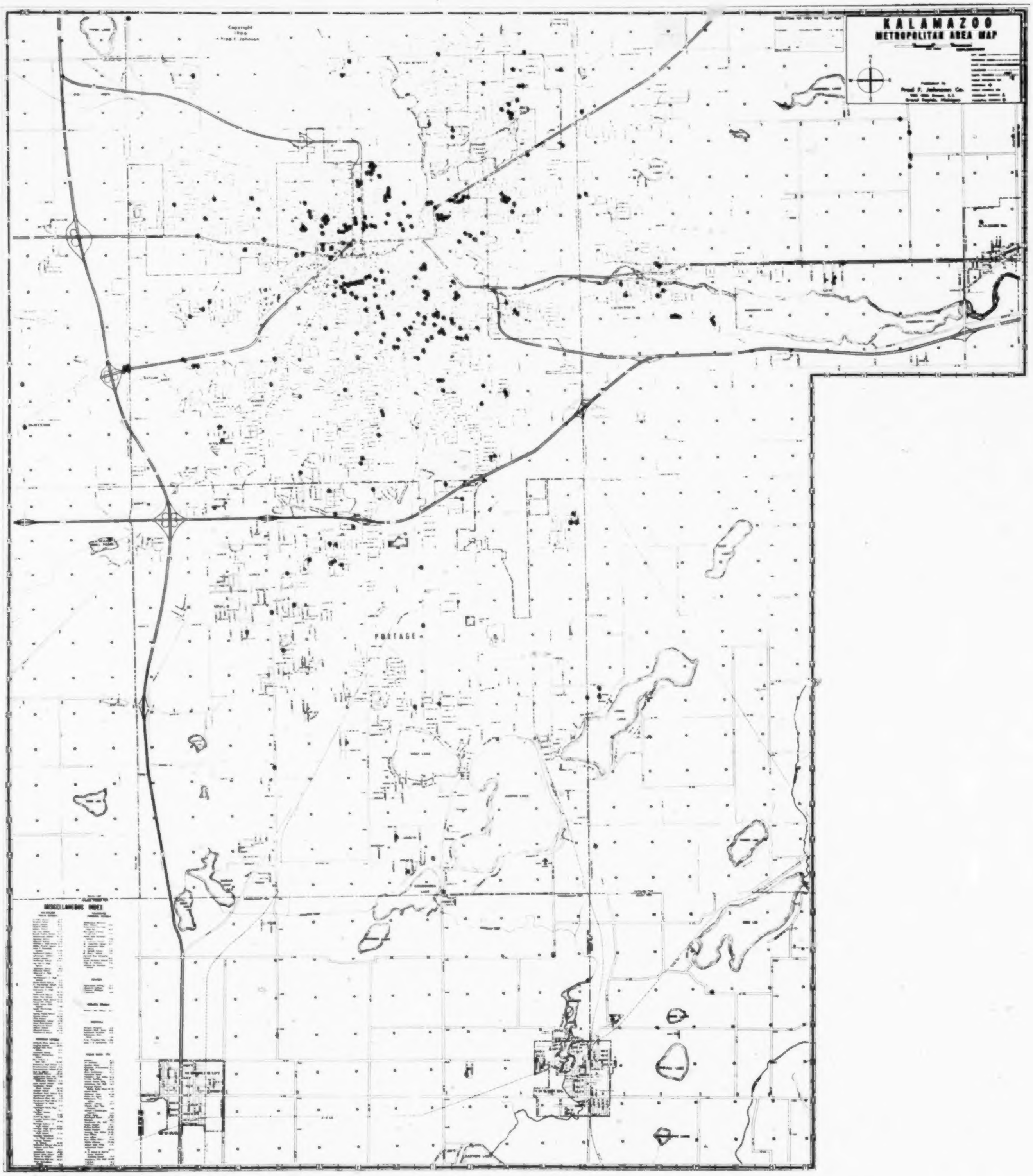
Grand Rapids, Michigan

KALAMAZOO
METROPOLITAN AREA MAP
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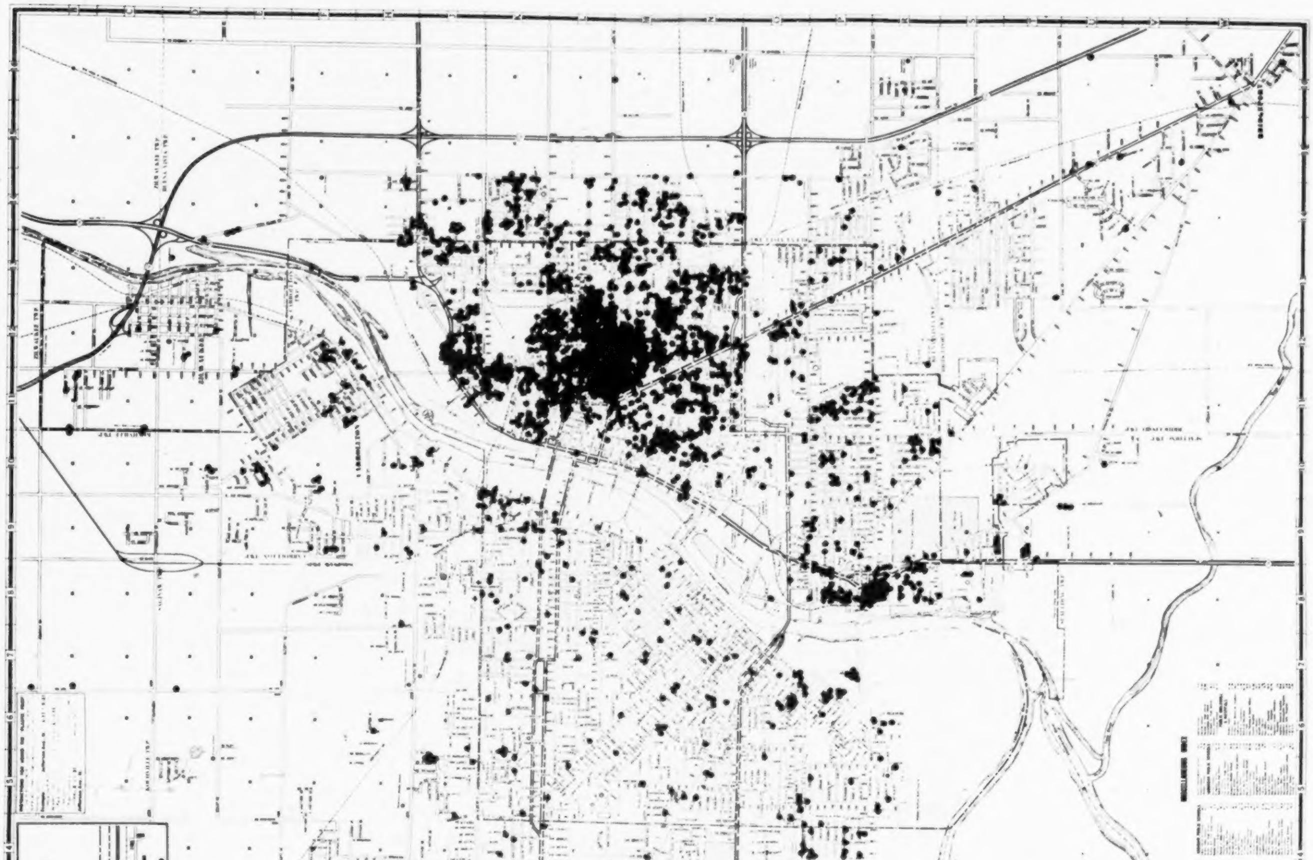
PORTAGE
MISCELLANEOUS INDEX



SAGINAW
METROPOLITAN AREA MAP
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1966
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N
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W

APPENDIX C

SAMPLING ERROR

As described in some detail in Appendix B, this study was based upon a sample survey of the population of Mexican-American household heads in Michigan counties having an estimated 100 or more such households, excluding the three counties of the Detroit metropolitan area. Therefore, the resulting statistics are subject to sampling variability. That is, the figures obtained on the basis of the sample cannot be taken as exactly those which would have been obtained from a census of the entire population of households. The figures reported are estimates and not exact values.

1. Sources of Error.

Errors, i.e., departures from true population values, in this survey arise from several sources. First, there are those arising from incomplete or biased pre-listing of the households in the counties which were the primary sampling units from which the sampled households were drawn and from the attrition of secondary sampling units, the household heads, by refusals, non-locatable interviewees, wrong persons interviewed and the like which we have discussed in Appendix B. Second, there are errors which occur in the collection and reporting of data ranging from false or unintentionally inaccurate response by the interviewees through faulty transcription of the response by the interviewer to coding and processing errors in data analysis. Third, there is sampling error which results from the fact that only a relatively small fraction of the total population is interviewed. While the first and second sources of error will occur even in an attempted complete enumeration or census of a population, the third source is unique to sample surveys. Fortunately, while the first two sources of error are difficult to assess in quantitative terms, the third is subject to estimation. Sampling error may be given a numerical estimation and an interval can be established about a sample statistic such as a percentage within which we may expect, at a given level of confidence, the population value will fall. Population value refers here to the value which would have been obtained if all household heads had been interviewed and not just a sample of them. It may, therefore, differ from the "true value" because of other sources of error, namely non-response and erroneous reporting.

Of course, the reader must remember in considering sampling error that it is but one of three major sources of error and that the confidence one may have in the results of any survey rests upon one's assessment of the relative extent of error from all sources. It is easy to forget the sources of error which cannot be quantitatively assessed and to become preoccupied with sampling error which can be.

2. Calculation and Interpretation of Sampling Error.

The following brief explanation is an adaptation of portions of a memorandum prepared by the Sampling Section of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, dealing with sampling errors of percentages:

"The sampling error is a measure of the expected variation of a sample statistic from the corresponding population value. It is given in terms of intervals to be used for estimating the population value. It does not measure the actual error of a particular sample estimate; rather it leads to statements in terms of confidence intervals that are correct in a specified proportion of cases in the long run. Each statement declares that the range of the sampling error on either side of the sample value includes the population value. Those statements will be correct 95 times out of 100 in the long run, and incorrect 5 times out of 100. In other words: the sampling error indicates the range on either side of the sample estimate within which the population value can be expected to lie with 95 chances in 100. In about five of every hundred cases, the population value can be expected by chance to lie outside this range. The 'sampling error' used here is equal to two 'standard errors'; it is the range chosen frequently in social research in order to obtain the 95 percent 'level of confidence'."

The sampling error of percentages of units having a certain attribute depends on the size of the sample, i.e., the numerical base of the percentage, and on the size of the percentage being estimated. In general, the sampling error is inversely proportional to the square root of the sample size. Thus, the sampling error of an estimate based upon 400 cases is about one-half (not one-quarter) as large as that of an estimate based upon 100 cases. Sampling errors vary with the percentage being estimated and reach a maximum, for sample of a given size, at 50 percent. The relation of sampling error to sampling size and percentage being estimated is evident in the formula for computation of sampling errors for random samples: $2\sqrt{\frac{p(100-p)}{n}}$ where p is the percentage under consideration and n is the sample size. Although this survey uses a complex rather than a simple random sample, the relationship of sampling errors to the sample size and percentage being estimated is similar to that of the above formula. Table C-1 provides sampling error ranges at the 95 percent level of confidence for various percentages and sample sizes for a simple random sample. The errors for our sample design are likely to be higher, however. We have simple random samples from each of the four certainty primary selections (Saginaw, Kent, Ingham and Lenawee counties), and a clustered sample from the three remaining strata represented by Genesee, Kalamazoo and Oceana-Newaygo, the last three primary units having had selection probability less than 1.0. It is

Table C-1

APPROXIMATE SIMPLE RANDOM SAMPLING ERRORS OF PERCENTAGES[1]

(Range of 95 Chances Out of 100)

Reported Percentage	Numerical Base of Percentage (Number of Respondents)											
	25	50	75	100	150	200	250	300	400	500	600	700
5 or 95	8.6	6.2	5.0	4.4	3.5	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.6
10 or 90	12.0	8.5	6.9	6.0	4.9	4.2	3.8	3.5	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.3
20 or 80	16.0	11.3	9.2	8.0	6.5	5.6	5.1	4.6	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.2
30 or 70	18.3	13.0	10.6	9.2	7.5	6.5	5.8	5.3	4.6	4.1	3.7	3.5
40 or 60	19.6	13.9	11.3	9.8	8.0	6.9	6.2	5.6	4.9	4.4	4.0	3.7
50	20.0	14.1	11.5	10.0	8.2	7.1	6.3	5.8	5.0	4.5	4.1	3.8

---

[1] The sampling error measures shown are for simple random samples. The complex multi-stage sample used in this study is likely to have errors which are between 1.0 and 2.0 times those shown. The **error** range of a given percentage may be determined by adding and subtracting the figure shown under the column closest to the numerical base of the percentage considered. For the most conservative estimate, multiply the error estimate by two before setting confidence limits.

Note that sampling error does not measure the total error involved in specific survey estimates since it does not include non-response and reporting errors.

likely that the error formula used (in which all seven strata contribute to the sampling error of the denominator and the covariance term comes from clustered strata only) exaggerates the sampling error from the last three strata because we have no way to take into account the effect of the controlled selection. If Genesee, Kalamazoo and Oceana-Newaygo are as different in all respects as they appear to be in respect to data used to compute specimen sampling errors, the stratification appears to have been good even though its gain cannot be measured. Specimen sampling errors for education, age, and household size are in line with preliminary speculation that the design would produce sampling errors 1.0 to 1.1 times the corresponding ones for a simple random sample design. However, variables concerning time of settlement and socio-economic status levels have standard errors that vary from around 1.4 to 2.0 times the corresponding simple random standard errors. In general, we might speculate that variables that distribute fairly evenly throughout the population or at least throughout the clustered strata (represented by Genesee, Kalamazoo, and Oceana-Newaygo) will have standard errors of approximately the same magnitude as those from a simple random sample design presented in Table C-1. But when there are sharp differences among the three clustered strata, the standard errors may be as high as two times those in the table. Since data on the distribution of variables and attributes among the strata are not available in this report, the reader should double the values in Table C-1 for the most conservative estimate of sampling error. It is likely, however, that errors on most variables will range between 1.1 and 1.5 times those presented or, in other words, that our sample design has increased error over that of a simple random sample by 10 to 50 percent in most estimates.

To illustrate the use of Table C-1, let us estimate the sampling error of the estimate that 33 percent of the 625 Mexican-American male household heads in our population are currently employed in the motor vehicle industry. The table tells us that with a sample base of this size (approximately 600) and a percentage of 33 (approximately 30 percent), a sampling error of up to 3.7 percent can be expected at the 95 percent level of confidence. This means that had repeated random samples of the size 600 been taken, the chances are that in 95 out of every 100 samples, the percentage of heads employed in the motor vehicles would have fallen within the range of 33 ± 3.7 or between 29.3 and 36.7 if this were a simple random sample design. However, conservatively we must consider that the error in our sample design may be as much as twice as large as that of a simple random sample in which case it could be as high as 7.4 percent and the range, at the 95 percent level of confidence, would be increased to that of 25.6 to 40.4 percent. This seems unduly conservative, however, in light of the specimen computations, since the percent involved in the motor vehicle industry is fairly evenly distributed among the strata with the exception of Oceana-Newaygo.

In this report, as in many in which the total sample is relatively small, the base of many percentages is so small that the resulting sampling errors are extremely large. Thus it is frequently not possible to attach statistical significance to the estimate in question. Yet even in such cases the finding was generally considered worth presenting since often a consistent pattern or trend of change was revealed, as in the case of the employment distribution over successive five-year periods. Where such patterns or trends exist, the patterns themselves may be regarded as significant, even though the specific percentages are not. After all, ultimately significance is in the eye of the beholder.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEWER SELECTION, TRAINING AND PERFORMANCE

From late October of 1967 to mid-March, 1968, 41 bilingual Mexican-Americans interviewed 695 heads-of-household whose responses to a two and one-half hour interview provide the bulk of the data discussed in this report. Only two of these field workers had ever done door-to-door interviewing prior to this study, and certainly none of them had ever before gathered such exhaustive (and exhausting) data as this survey required. Yet, the analysis on the preceding pages would have been impossible had it not been for the perseverance and remarkable aptitude which the great majority of the interviewers demonstrated in carrying out their task. This appendix reports the principal considerations regarding the selection, training and performance of these interviewers. It deals with their successes as well as their occasional failures, in the hope that the reader may be better able to pass judgment on the writers' interpretation of the data offered in the body of this report.

1. Recruitment and Selection Considerations

By the time that a pilot survey of 50 interviews using a draft version of the interview schedules was completed in Grand Rapids in early September of 1967, it had become clear that interviewers would have to meet the following criteria:

1. They had to be both bilingual and biliterate. The ability and the prediliction of the majority of the respondents to shift from English to Spanish during the course of even a short conversation required that the interviewers do likewise. (Actually, more than one-half (53%) of the 695 interviews were conducted partly in English and partly in Spanish; only

one-quarter (24%) were done entirely in Spanish and one-quarter (23%) entirely in English.) Moreover, oftentimes, the same respondent found it easier to understand or express a certain idea or information by shifting languages temporarily. Thus, the interviewer had to be competent to use the bilingual interview schedule to assist and encourage the respondent to use the language with which he felt more comfortable at a given moment. She also had to be able to record a reply in Spanish, when it was so given, in order to preserve its original "flavor" and to avoid the inevitable biases of hurried translation. The criterion of bilinguality was easier for potential interviewers to meet than was the criterion of biliteracy. Initial screening revealed that many applicants had difficulty reading, and particularly writing, Spanish. Although they were fluent Spanish speakers, many had only limited experience in reading the language and little opportunity to have practiced writing it. Even after screening out those who had the most obvious difficulties, the literacy in Spanish of the interviewers varied from an elegant proficiency to a minimal ability to handle the written language.

2. Interviewers had to be Mexican-American. They could not come from any Spanish speaking ethnic group. Competition, suspicion, and often hostility between Mexican-Americans and other Spanish speaking groups precluded the use of interviewers of Cuban and Puerto Rican background. Perhaps equally as restrictive a factor was the uniqueness of the "Tex-Mex" dialect of Spanish which is spoken by the majority of Mexican-Americans in Michigan. Idiomatic Spanish, as spoken by persons of Cuban or Puerto Rican descent is different enough from "Tex-Mex" to cause problems of faulty communication and lack of interviewer-respondent rapport. (Actually, two field workers--a supervisor and an interviewer--were not of Mexican-American background. One was Guatemalan and the other was Cuban. However, both persons had lived for a number of years

among the Mexican-Americans in their respective communities, and had become highly acculturated and accepted as members of their group.)

3. Interviewers were women. Although the designated respondent in most homes was the male head-of-household, initial attempts to recruit men as interviewers were unsuccessful. Most Mexican-American men with the aptitude and desire to work as interviewers held full-time jobs and had neither the time nor the energy to devote additional long hours to door-to-door interviewing. Furthermore, some men who would have made excellent interviewers were already engaged in spare-time community or political activities. Over and above these considerations, it seemed that some men perceived the task of interviewing (and perhaps the salary offered, as well!) as somewhat status-reducing,perhaps an understandable objection, as the often arduous task of establishing rapport with a respondent and retaining his cooperation throughout a long and detailed interrogation can easily be misperceived as kowtowing. Such a role reversal can be personally distasteful for a prospective interviewer who may have more personal pride than patience. In general, Mexican-American women seemed to be better able than men to handle the kind of interpersonal finessing characteristic of successful interviewing. Moreover, they felt more comfortable playing such a role. Prior to the Grand Rapids pilot study, the study directors and the field coordinators engaged in a great deal of agonized conjecture over whether or not male respondents would talk frankly and openly to a woman, particularly if the question topic was personal or delicate. The results obtained in the pilot test, using four women and one man as interviewers--although not an entirely valid test since no additional men were found who desired to interview in this short survey--indicated that such fears were largely unfounded provided that the woman acquired the necessary skills and sensitivity to practice the

art of interviewing. Thus, during the final study, 38 of the 41 field workers were women. The majority were housewives, although a number of them held jobs outside the home as well. Of the three men employed in the field, two were supervisors.

4. Interviewers resided in or near the communities of their respondents. Survey researchers have discovered both advantages and disadvantages to employing field staff who are residents in the communities where their respondents also live. In the case of this survey, most of these subjective considerations pro and con, were overshadowed in importance by the problem of field logistics. Since most of the interviewers had families to attend to, it was not possible for them to spend periods of several days or even weeks in some other town. Given this situation, however, an attempt was made to avoid employing women who were overtly identified with any controversial minority faction among the Mexican-American people in their community. This was not always an easy task as it was found later that preliminary reconnaissance investigations had not uncovered the full extent of factionalism among the Mexican-Americans in some communities. In most instances, however, the employment of persons active in current religious and political rivalries was avoided.

Recruiting of candidates for interviewing positions was conducted by word-of-mouth through informants in the several county seats sampled. During earlier reconnaissance interviews made by the project directors, and throughout the process of gathering lists of Mexican-American residents from community informants, inquiries were made regarding persons who might like to work as interviewers in the subsequent survey. In several towns informants themselves expressed a desire to become interviewers. In other cases, they provided names of persons whom they felt might be interested in such work. In this fashion applicants were informally recruited, largely through local friendship networks.

2. Training Procedures

During the last week in October, 1967, all accepted applicants commuted to East Lansing for intensive interviewer training sessions. It was explained to them that the purpose of the survey was to collect reliable data concerning their own people in order to assist in trying to solve some of their problems. They were given written instructions and manuals covering basic interviewing procedures, sampling methods and the administration of the interview schedule to be used in this survey. In addition, the study directors verbally went through each question in the schedule with the interviewers as a group, clarifying doubts and questions as they arose from the interviewers. Training sessions were conducted in both Spanish and English, coordinated by a bilingual associate director of the project.

A part of the time each day was devoted to small group sessions in which interviewers practiced portions of the interview through role playing--one interviewer acting as the interrogator, the other as the respondent. Moreover, each night after returning home the interviewers interviewed a friend or family member using that portion of the schedule which had been discussed that day in the training session. Then early the next day in Lansing they critiqued in an open forum the problems which they had encountered the previous evening.

At the end of the week's training sessions, one of the field workers from each community was assigned to be the supervisor of the interviewers in that town. She was given a number of sample names and addresses, and each interviewer was instructed to complete, as additional practice, an interview with one of the sample respondents. Before proceeding with additional interviews, one of the study directors from East Lansing visited the interviewers in their home towns and reviewed this first interview together with each interviewer. Minor errors were corrected on the spot, while errors or omissions requiring that the interviewer return to talk with the respondent were pointed out to the interviewer for later repair.

3. Interviewer Supervision and Performance

The resident supervisor in each town was responsible for allocating the field work among the several interviewers working under his or her direction. In addition, each completed schedule was reviewed, and sent back into the field when additional data or clarifications were necessary. The supervisor also was an important "community relations officer" on behalf of the survey, as he or she was the most accessible and visible study representative among the local Mexican-Americans. A significant portion of the supervisor's time was spent in this community relations role, personally answering inquiries about the objectivity of the data gathering, the nature of the replies, and the possibilities of beneficial or harmful results from the information for the Mexican-American community. In particularly sensitive or delicate situations the supervisor conducted the interview.

In addition to local supervision, a study director from the East Lansing office visited each town approximately once a week in order to discuss field problems and procedures with the supervisor and her interviewers. The study director's visits were also used to further review a part of the completed interview schedules.

Once the completed schedules were sent to the East Lansing office, they were edited for inconsistencies and omissions in the data, which had inadvertantly slipped through the field editing process. Schedules on which such errors were found were returned to the interviewers who had completed them, in order to be corrected or clarified. Only after this final editing step were the schedules considered ready for coding in the office.

Field staff morale was generally high, and with rare exceptions the interviewers worked diligently at turning out interviews which met the highest professional standards. Only five interviewers resigned before all interviewing was completed. Most of the interviewers were enthusiastic over the opportunity to perform a meaningful and challenging task among their own people. The enthusiasm of the supervisor in one community was such that, shortly after field work terminated she filed for, and was elected, city councilwoman. In other communities, as well, field personnel became deeply involved in community affairs after the interviewing ended. Many reported that they had achieved an increased awareness of, and concern for, the problems of their own people, generated in part by their participation in this study.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Note: For question 123, the respondent was handed a card having the following statements:

H. Mexican-Americans will never have all the rights and opportunities of other American citizens until they give up being Mexican and start being full-time Americans in the same way everyone else is.

G. Mexican-Americans should keep up their own traditions and language, and still be given their full rights and opportunities as American citizens.

The order of statements was reversed in half of the interviews.

On pages 23, 25, and 32 items were deleted under requirements of the contractor prohibiting questions concerned with religion and political participation. See page 5 for our comment.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

AND

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY (1967)

List Number for Household: ______

Respondent's Name: ______

Address: ______

Telephone Number: ______ Town: ______

Time Interview Started: ______ Time Ended: ______ Time Elapsed: ______

Superivor's Check (Initials) ______

Editor's Check (Initials) ______

Project Number:	1 0 1	1 2 3
Respondent Number:	___ ___ ___	4 5 6
Card Number	1	7
Interviewer code number:	___ ___	8 9
County code		10
Respondent's house is:	In town (1) Outside town(2) On farm (3)	11
Number of Callbacks		12

INTRODUCTION (TO BE SAID AT DOOR)

Buenos días (tardes). Me llamo ______. Estoy trabajando en un estudio para el Departamento de Trabajo del Gobierno. Estamos hablando con la gente de descendencia Mejicana, para saber como pensamos acerca de varios asuntos importantes, como las escuelas, el trabajo, y la vivienda. Usted ya debería de haber recibido una carta por el correo, al respecto. Como le dije, éste es un estudio con personas de descendencia Mejicana. Sólo para estar seguro, es ésta una familia Mejicana? (IF NO, SUSPEND THE INTERVIEW) Debo de hablar con el Jefe de la casa. Está en casa ahora? Le podría hablar?

Hello. My name is ______. I'm working on a study for the United States Department of Labor. We're talking to Americans of Mexican descent to find out how we feel about important things like schools, jobs, and housing. You ought to have received a letter by mail, explaining the study. Now as I said, this is a study of people of Mexican descent. Just to make sure, is this a Mexican-American household? (IF NOT, SUSPEND THE INTERVIEW) I'm supposed to talk to the head of the household. Is that person at home? May I speak with him?

INTERVIEWER: IF THE HEAD-OF-THE-HOUSEHOLD IS NOT IN AT THE TIME YOU MAKE YOUR FIRST CONTACT, YOU MAY FILL IN PAGE 3 OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITH ANY RESPONSIBLE ADULT MEMBER OF THE FAMILY. THEN MAKE AN APPOINTMENT (OR ENQUIRE WHEN HE WILL BE AT HOME) TO RETURN TO INTERVIEW THE HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD ON THE REST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE. KEEP A COMPLETE AND ACCURATE RECORD OF YOUR VISITS AND RETURN APPOINTMENTS, BOTH FOR YOUR OWN USE AND FOR THE INFORMATION OF YOUR SUPERVISOR.

Name of the "Head-of-Household" (Jefe de Casa): ______

Is the "Jefe" also the principal breadwinner (sosten) currently?

No	0
Yes	1

No → Who is the sosten? ______ 13

______

DATE OF THE FIRST CONTACT WITH THE HOUSEHOLD: ______

WAS THE ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT (JEFE) HOME THAT FIRST TIME? No ☐ Yes ☐

WAS THE INTERVIEW COMPLETED DURING THAT FIRST CONTACT? No ☐ Yes ☐

IF RETURN APPOINTMENTS ARE NECESSARY, NOTE THEM BELOW

1st Appt.	Date: ______	2nd Appt.	Date: ______	3rd Appt.	Date: ______
	Time: ______		Time: ______		Time: ______
	Result: ______		Result: ______		Result: ______

INTERVIEWER: IF AFTER THREE UNSUCCESSFUL CALLBACKS WITH APPOINTMENT, THE DESIGNATED RESPONDENT STILL HAS NOT BEEN INTERVIEWED, RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO YOUR SUPERVISOR.

INTERVIEWER: THIS PAGE CAN BE FILLED IN AT ANY TIME AFTER YOU ARE CERTAIN THAT YOU WILL FINISH THE INTERVIEW WITH THE INDICATED RESPONDENT.

I. NEIGHBORHOOD ASSESSMENT

In Cities and Towns Only

(a) What kind of neighborhood is this?

1 ____ Above average (larger than average space around the homes, area is all residential, apartments in good condition, etc.)
14 2 ____ Average (residential, no deterioration in the area)
3 ____ Below average (area not quite holding its own, beginning to deteriorate, business entering, etc.)
4 ____ Very low (considerably deteriorated, run down, slum or semi-slum)

(b) Does the street on which the respondent lives have:

1 ____ Heavy through traffic, including commercial vehicles
15 2 ____ Light through traffic, mainly private cars going to and from houses
3 ____ Mainly local residential traffic
4 ____ Other (describe) ________________________________

(c) Is the street on which the respondent lives:

1 ____ Mainly residential
6 2 ____ Mainly residential and commercial (mixed)
3 ____ Mainly residential and industrial (mixed)
4 ____ Mixed commercial and industrial

On Farms Only

(Instructions: Base your classification on the quality of the houses and farm buildings nearest to the place you are now in.)

1 ____ Above average (larger than average houses & buildings well maintained)
2 ____ Average
17 3 ____ Below average
4 ____ Very low (rural slum)

II. HOUSING ASSESSMENT

18 Type of Structure in which respondent lives (Instructions: Check the kind of home that the respondent lives in. Detached single family home means a house that is not hooked onto another house and where only one family lives in it. An apartment in a partly commercial structure means an apartment or room in a building that is also used for a business (such as above a grocery store or tavern). An apartment house that has 5 or more units that is not public housing would be like an apartment house that is owned by a private owner. One that is public housing would be like a government housing project. If none of the types of houses listed below describe the respondent's home, then write down what it is like.)

1 ____ Mobile home (trailer)
2 ____ Detached single family home
3 ____ Not detached single family home (duplex)
4 ____ Apartment in a partly commercial structure
5 ____ Apartment house (5 or more units, not public housing)
6 ____ Apartment house (5 or more units, public housing)
7 ____ Detached 2-4 family house
8 ____ Barracks style
9 ____ Other (DESCRIBE)________________

Condition of the House Exterior (CHECK ONE)

1 ____ Above average
19 2 ____ Average, in good shape (paint porch, screens)
3 ____ Deteriorating (needs paint and/or repair)
4 ____ Dilapidated (disrepair, falling apart)

INTERVIEWER: QUESTIONS "a" THROUGH "i" CAN BE ASKED OF ANY RESPONSIBLE ADULT MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD WHO IS ON HAND TO GIVE YOU THE INFORMATION

1. Para estar seguro de que hago la entrevista con la persona que debo, primeramente quisiera hacerle unas prequntas sobre las personas que viven aquí. Podría usted decirme los nombres de todos los miembros de su familia que viven aquí en esta casa con usted...de mayor a menor, por favor, incluyéndose a usted.	1. To make certain that I interview the person that I'm supposed to, first I'd like to ask a few questions about the people who live here. Would you please tell me the names of all the members of your family who live here in this house with you...from oldest to youngest, please, including yourself.

(AS THE NAME OF EACH FAMILY MEMBER IS GIVEN TO YOU, WRITE THE NAME UNDER "a" BELOW AND IMMEDIATELY FILL IN ITEMS "b" (SEX) AND "c" (AGE) FOR EACH PERSON. THEN AFTER ALL THE NAMES HAVE BEEN NOTED DOWN, RETURN TO THE LINE FOR THE OLDEST PERSON AND SUCCESSIVELY COMPLETE ITEMS "d" THROUGH "i" FOR EACH FAMILY MEMBER

d. En qué estado nació?	d. In what state was (he, she, you) born?
e. Cuál es su estado civil?--soltero,casado, divorciado, viudo, osseparado?	e. Is (he, she, you) single, married, divorced, widowed, or separated?
f. Hasta qué año (grado) fué a la escuela? (NOTE DOWN LAST YEAR COMPLETED)	f. How far did (he, she, you) go in school? (NOTE DOWN LAST YEAR COMPLETED)
g. Qué trabajo hace?	g. What kind of work does (he, she, you) do?

(IF UNEMPLOYED NOW, OBTAIN INFORMATION ON "LAST JOB". ALSO INCLUDE PART-TIME WORK OF CHILDREN OR OTHERS WHO MAY NOT WORK FULL-TIME. IF PERSON IS CURRENTLY A FULL-TIME STUDENT, ALSO NOTE THIS FACT DOWN.)

h. En qué lugar trabaja (trabajaba)?	h. What kind of place does (did) (he, she, you) work at?
i. Qué parentesco tiene esa persona con usted?	i. How is...(person)...related to you

(OBTAIN PERSON'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD)

a. Name	b. Sex	c. Age	d. Birthplace (State	e. Marital Status	f. Last year Completed in School	g. Kind of Work (Occupation, & Note if Student)	h. Type of Industry, Business, etc. Where Works	i. Relation to Head-of-House
1.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
2.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
3.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
4.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
5.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
6.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
7.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
8.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
9.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
10.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
11.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				
12.	M F 1 2			S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5				

INTERVIEWER: FROM HERE ON THE INTERVIEW IS TO BE DONE WITH THE HEAD-OF-THE-HOUSEHOLD. IF YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE PRECEDING PAGE OF THE INTERVIEW WITH A DIFFERENT PERSON, YOU WILL NEED TO INTRODUCE THE INTERVIEW ONCE AGAIN--THIS TIME WITH THE HEAD-OF-THE-HOUSEHOLD, AS FOLLOWS:

Estoy trabajando en un estudio para el Departamento de Trabajo del Gobierno. Estamos hablando con la gente de descendencia Mejicana, para saber como pensamos acerca de varios asuntos importantes, como las escuelas, el trabajo y la vivienda. Ud. y varios otros en esta cuidad (pueblo) han sido escogidos para ser entrevistados en el estudio. La entrevista tiene preguntas sobre los diferentes trabajos que ha tenido usted, sobre su decisión de establecerse en Michigan, su vida familiar y sus actividades, y los problemas que haya usted enfrentado al venir a vivir aquí. Las respuestas que me dé serán escritas en el cuestionario. Luego vamos a llevar el cuestionario a la oficina para que solamente los directores del estudio puedan ver las respuestas. Puede usted contar con que todas sus respuestas serán confidenciales, y ni usted ni cualquier otro entrevistado jamás será identificado en el estudio por su nombre.

Le agradecería que conteste usted a las preguntas lo más francamente posible. Esta no es una prueba. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Sólo quisieramos que nos dijera lo que recuerda y lo que piensa. Queremos dar a conocer al público en general y al gobierno también los problemas que los Mejicanos encontramos. Si podemos hacer ésto, esperamos que los otros tengan más interes y estén más dispuestos a trabajar junto con nosotros para encontrar soluciones a nuestros problemas.

5 I'm working on a study for the United States Department of Labor. We're talking to Americans of Mexican descent to find out how we feel about important things like schools, jobs and housing. You and many others in this city (town) were chosen to be interviewed for this study. The interview contains questions about the different jobs you have had, your decision to live in Michigan, your family life and outside activities, and the problems you faced in settling here. The answers that you give to these questions are written down on the interview form. This form will be returned to the study office and only the directors of the study will ever see your answers. Your replies will all be considered confidential and neither you nor any other respondent will ever be identfied by name.

Please answer the questions as accurately and as frankly as you can. This is not a test. There are no right and wrong answers. We just want you to tell us what you remember and how you really feel. We want to make the general public, and our own government, more familiar with the problems that we Mexican-Americans encounter. If we can do this, we hope that other people will be more interesting and willing to work with us in finding solutions to our problems.

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT IS MARRIED, SEPARATED, WIDOWED OR DIVORCED, ASK Q. 2. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q. 3.

2. En qué año se casó usted?

20 Año:______

2. In what year were you married?

Year:______

3. Ahora, aparte de los miembros de su familia inmediata, hay algunas otras personas que viven en esta casa (apartamento) con ustedes?

21
No 0 → (Pase a P. 4)
Si 1

3a. (SI DICE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Cuántos son en total?

22 No.____ personas que viven en la casa, que no son familiares

3. Now, besides the members of your immediate family, are there any other persons living in this house (apartment) with you?

No 0 → (Skip to Q. 4)
Yes 1

3a. (IF "YES", ASK:) How many are there altogether?

No.____ persons living in the house, who aren't family members

4. Tiene usted (y su esposa) otros hijos de cualquier edad que no viven aquí en casa con ustedes?

23
No 0 → (Pase a P. 5)
Si 1

4. Do you (and your wife) have any other children of any age who do not live here at home?

No 0 → (Skip to Q. 5)
Yes 1

INTERVIEWER: IF THERE ARE CHILDREN LIVING AWAY FROM HOME, FOR EACH SUCH CHILD ASK:

Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Highest School Year Finished	Birthplace (State)	Currently Employed?	Occupation (Including if Student)	Residence Now (City & State)
1.	M F 1 2		S M D W Sp 1 2 3 4 5			No Yes 0 1		
2.	1 2		1 2 3 4 5			0 1		
3.	1 2		1 2 3 4 5			0 1		
4.	1 2		1 2 3 4 5			0 1		

5. (ASK OF EVERYONE) Qué fué la ocupación principal de su papá, mientras crecía Usted? (PROBE) ________________	5. (ASK OF EVERYONE) What was your father's principal occupation while you were growing up? (PROBE) ________________	24 25
6. Hasta qué año (grado) fué a la escuela su papá? Ultimo año (grado) terminado:______	6. How far did your father go in school? Last school year completed:______	26
7. Cuántas veces se cambiaron de pueblo Ud. y su familia?--entre el tiempo que usted nació hasta que cumplió 16 años? No. de Veces:______	7. How many times did you and your family change your town of residence, between the time you were born and your 16th birthday? No. of times:______	27
8. En dónde vivió por más tiempo hasta que cumplió 16 años? Pueblo o Ciudad ______ Condado ______ Estado ______	8. Where did you live longest until your 16th birthday? Town or City ______ County ______ State ______	28 29
9. En...(lugar mencionado en P.8)...vivió usted en: READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES & MARK ONLY ONE En el pueblo? 1 En los alrededores del pueblo, pero no en un rancho? 2 Ó en un rancho? 3	9. In...(place mentioned in Q. 8)...did you live: READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES & MARK ONLY ONE Inside town? 1 Outside town, but not on a farm or ranch? 2 Or on a farm or ranch? 3	30
10. Hasta que usted cumplió 16 años, trabajó usted o su familia alguna vez con los migratorios en la labor? (IN ANY CAPACITY: AS PICKER, CREW LEADER, COOK, etc.) No 0 Si 1	10. Up till the time you were 16, did you or your family ever work with the migrants en la labor? (IN ANY CAPACITY: AS PICKER, CREW LEADER, COOK, etc.) No 0 Yes 1	31
11. Qué lugar considera Ud. que es su pueblo ahora? Pueblo o Ciudad ______ Condado ______ Estado ______	11. What place do you consider as your home town now? Town or City ______ County ______ State ______	32 33
INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT WAS BORN IN MICHIGAN, SKIP TO Q. 16 IF RESPONDENT WAS BORN OUTSIDE MICHIGAN, CONTINUE WITH Q. 12		
12. Tiene usted alguien de su gente que vive todavía en ...(pueblo de P. 8)...? No 0 Si 1	12. Do you have family or relatives living in ...(town of Q. 8)...now? No 0 Yes 1	34
13. Tiene usted propiedades (casa, negocio, rancho, solar, etc.) que le pertenece allá en ...(pueblo de P. 8)...? No 0 Si 1	13. Do you now own any property (house, business, ranch, real estate, etc.) back in ...(town of Q. 8)...? No 0 Yes 1	35
14. Desde que se quedó usted a vivir aquí en Michigan, cuántas veces ha ido a ...(pueblo de P. 8)...a visitar, o por cualquier otra razon? No. de Veces:______	14. Since you have resided in Michigan, how many times have you gone back to ...(town of Q.8) ...either to visit or for any other reason? No. of times______	36
15. Durante los pasados 12 meses, ha mandado usted dinero para ayudar a su gente o amigos en ...(pueblo de P. 8)...? No 0 Si 1	15. During the past 12 months, have you sent any money to help out your family, relatives or friends in ...(town of Q. 8)...? No 0 Yes 1	37
16. (ASK OF EVERYONE) En qué año vino usted a vivir permanentemente en Michigan? Year:______	16. (ASK OF EVERYONE) In what year did you come to Michigan to live permanently? Year:______	38 39

QUESTION SERIES No. 17

Ahora, quisiera que me dijera algo acerca de los diferentes trabajos que ha hecho y de los diferentes lugares en que ha vivido. Hasta ahora hemos hablado de estas cosas pero sólo hasta que usted cumplió 16 años. Ahora vamos a empezar después que cumplió 16 años.

1. En dónde estaba su hogar cuando tenía 16 años?
2. Cuando tenía 16 años hizo Ud. cualquier clase de trabajo ganando dinero?--ya sea:

--todo el tiempo o parte del tiempo?...
--por todo el año o sólo por un tiempo?...
--en la ciudad, en un rancho, o en la labor con los migratorios?...

También mientras platicamos quisiera saber de cualquier servicio militar que haya tenido...

--o de cualquier promoción que haya recibido Ud. en el empleo, mientras trabajaba con esa misma compañía...
--y de los tiempos que estuvo desempleado entre un trabajo y otro.

Now, I'd like you to tell me something about the different work you have done and the different places where you have lived. Up till now we've been talking about before you were 16 years old. Now let's start when you were 16 years old.

1. Where was your home when you were 16 years old?
2. When you were 16 did you do any kind of work for which you were paid in money? Either:

--full-time or part-time?...
--for the whole year or just for a short while?..
--in town, or on a farm, or in the fields with the migrants?...

Also as we talk I'd like you to tell me if you've had any military service...

--or about any important promotions you may have got while working with the same company...

--and any periods of unemployment between jobs.

INTERVIEWER: ON THE TOP LINE ON THE NEXT PAGE...(FOR AGE 16)...FILL IN RESPONDENT'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE AT AGE 16. ALSO FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACES FOR ANY WORK HE DID AT AGE 16. IF RESPONDENT DID NOT WORK AT ALL AT AGE 16, WRITE IN WHAT HE WAS DOING THEN, AND CONTINUE ASKING ABOUT ANY MOVES FROM ONE TOWN TO ANOTHER WHICH HE MAY HAVE MADE UP UNTIL THE AGE AT WHICH HE DID HIS FIRST WORK FOR MONEY. THEN BEGIN TO ASK THE APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS BELOW ABOUT THE DETAILS OF HIS WORK OR JOBS.

A. IF MIGRANT FARM LABOR, ASK:
(1) En cuáles estados trabajó Ud. en ese año?
(2) Por cuánto tiempo estuvo viajando y trabajando ese año? (OBTAIN TOTAL MONTHS AND/OR WEEKS)

B. IF NON-MIGRANT WORK (INCLUDING SALARIED FARM WORK)
(1) Qué clase de trabajo hizo? (OBTAIN A DESCRIPTION OF HIS MAIN TASK)
(2) En qué clase de negocio o compañía trabajó Ud? (THAT IS, THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY OR MANUFACTUR IN WHICH HIS EMPLOYER FIRM ENGAGED)
(3) Por cuánto tiempo estuvo Ud. en ese empleo?

A. IF MIGRANT FARM LABOR, ASK:
(1) What states did you work in that year?
(2) How long did you travel around and work that year?(OBTAIN TOTAL MONTHS AND/OR WEEKS)

B. IF NON-MIGRANT WORK (INCLUDING SALARIED FARM WORK)
(1) What kind of work did you do? (OBTAIN A DESCRIPTION OF HIS MAIN TASK)
(2) What kind of firm or business did you work for? (THAT IS, THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY OR MANUFACTURE IN WHICH HIS EMPLOYER FIRM ENGAGED)
(3) How long did you have that job?

IF MILITARY SERVICE, ASK:
(1) Cuál fué su clasificación?--es decir, su job specialty? (ENTER UNDER "KIND OF WORK")
(2) Cuál fué el rank más alto que logró? (ENTER UNDER "KIND OF FIRM")
(3) Por cuánto tiempo estuvo en el servicio "en active duty"?

IF MILITARY SERVICE, ASK:
(1) What was your job specialty or classification? (ENTER UNDER "KIND OF WORK")
(2) What was the highest rank you reached? (ENTER UNDER "KIND OF FIRM")
(3) How long were you in service on active duty?

INTERVIEWER: AFTER YOU HAVE FINISHED WITH HIS FIRST JOB OR WORK, CONTINUE ON AS FOLLOWS BELOW:

a. Bien, después de que usted terminó...(trabajo)... qué hizo entonces?
b. Y, en ese tiempo tenía Ud. cuántos años?
c. Y, vivía Ud. en el mismo pueblo que antes?

a. Now, after you finished ...(work)...what did you do next?
b. And, how old were you then?
c. And, did you live in the same town as before?

INTERVIEWER: FOR EACH SUCCESSIVE JOB CHANGE OR CHANGE OF RESIDENCE (WHICHEVER THE CASE MAY BE), ENTER THE INFORMATION REQUIRED ON A NEW LINE, ENTERING THE RESPONDENT'S AGE WHEN HE MADE THIS CHANGE, AND INDICATING WITH A VERTICAL ARROW THOSE PERIODS IN THE RESPONDENT'S LIFE WHEN HE LIVED IN THE SAME TOWN WHILE CHANGING HIS JOB.

INTERVIEWER: USE THE LINES BELOW WHICH YOU NEED TO RECORD THE INFORMATION FOR THE RESPONDENT, FROM THE TIME HE WAS 16 YEARS OLD UP TILL JUST BEFORE HE ESTABLISHED PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN MICHIGAN.

	Where Residence Was		(A) Migrant Farm Work		(B) Non-Migrant Work & Military Service		
R's Age	City/Town	State or Country	States Worked in During That Time Period	Hrs/Wks Traveled & worked that (each) yr.	Kind of Work (Occupation or military specialty)	Kind of company/business worked for (or rank)	Duration
16							

INTERVIEWER: AT THE POINT WHERE RESPONDENT MOVED TO MICHIGAN PERMANENTLY, GO TO NEXT PAGE

QUESTION SERIES No. 18

INTERVIEWER: THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ASKED FOR RESIDENCES AND JOBS BEGINNING AT THE POINT WHERE THE RESPONDENT HAS ESTABLISHED PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN MICHIGAN.

RESIDENCE: IF RESIDENCE WAS IN Michigan OBTAIN ONLY THE NAME OF THE Town.
IF RESPONDENT Left Michigan TO RESIDE IN ANOTHER STATE AT ANY TIME, OBTAIN BOTH State & Town.

FOR NON-MIGRANT WORK	FOR NON-MIGRANT WORK
(1) Qué clase de trabajo hizo usted? (OBTENGA UNA DESCRIPCION DE SU TIPO DE LABOR)	(1) What kind of work did you do? (OBTAIN A DESCRIPTION OF HIS TASKS)
(2) En qué clase de Negocio o Compañía trabajó usted? (O SEA LA ACTIVIDAD COMERCIAL QUE LA CIA.HACIA)	(2) What kind of business or company did you work for? (TYPE OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY OF EMPLOYER)
(3) Por lo general, cuántas horas a la semana trabajó usted en ese empleo?	(3) On the average, how may hours a week did you work on that job?
(4) Cuál era su pago por semana en ese empleo?	(4) What was the average weekly pay at that job?
(5) Por cuánto tiempo tuvo ese empleo? (ANOS/MESES)	(5) How long did you have that job? (YEARS/MONTHS)

FOR MILITARY SERVICE (Enter as Non-Migrant Work)	FOR MILITARY SERVICE (Enter as Non-Migrant Work)
(1) Cuál era su clasificación o "job specialty"? (ENTER UNDER "OCCUPATION" (1))	(1) What was your job specialty or classification? (ENTER UNDER "OCCUPATION") (1))
(2) Cuál fué el "rank" más alto que logró en el servicio? (ENTER UNDER"KIND OF BUSINESS"(2))	(2) What was the highest rank you reached while in the service? ENTER UNDER "KIND OF BUSINESS" (2)
(5) Por cuánto tiempo estuvo en el servicio "on active duty"? (ENTER UNDER "DURATION" (5))	(5) How long were you in service on active duty? (ENTER UNDER "DURATION" (5))

INTERVIEWER: PUT AN ASTERISK (STAR) IN THE LEFT MARGIN ALONGSIDE THE LINE REFERRING TO MILITARY

FOR FARM LABOR WITH THE MIGRANTS	FOR FARM LABOR WITH THE MIGRANTS

INTERVIEWER: IN ORDER TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT OMIT SUCH WORK, BECAUSE IT MAY HAVE BEEN FOR ONLY A SHORT DURATION EACH SUMMER, YOU MAY HAVE TO ASK ABOUT THIS SEPARATELY FOR EACH YEAR. DO NOT ASSUME THAT JUST BECAUSE A RESPONDENT MAY NOT HAVE WORKED IN "LA LABOR" DURING HIS FIRST FEW YEARS (OR SUMMERS) IN MICHIGAN THAT HE THEREFORE NEVER DID SO AT A LATER TIME.

(6) Cuando usted vivía en...(ciudad) (pueblo)... y mientras trabajaba en...(en donde trabajaba, si tenía otro empleo)...hizo Ud. cualquier labor de rancho?	(6) When you lived in...(city) (town) ..and while you were working at...(job where was working, if had another job)...did you do any farm labor in the fields?
IF "YES", ASK:	IF "YES", ASK:
(7) En dónde trabajó ese año? (OBTENGA ESTADO)	(7) Where did you work that year? (OBTAIN STATE)
(8) Por cuánto tiempo, en total, trabajó durante ese año? (OBTAIN MONTHS & WEEKS)	(8) How long did you work, in total, during that year? (OBTAIN MONTHS & WEEKS)
(9) Algún otro miembro de su familia trabajó con usted ese año? (OBTAIN POSITIONS IN THE FAMILY OF THOSE WHO WORKED; SUCH AS: WIFE, CHILDREN, OTHER RELATIVES LIVING IN HIS HOUSE, ETC.)	(9) Did any other members of your family also work with you that year? (OBTAIN POSITIONS IN THE FAMILY OF THOSE WHO WORKED; SUCH AS: WIFE, CHILDREN, OTHER RELATIVES LIVING IN HIS HOUSE, ETC.)
(10) Trabajó usted el tiempo completo cada día, o sólo en fines de semana, o en sus vacaciones, o durante un "changeover" o "lay off", o una huelga, o que?	(10) Did you work full-time every day, or only on weekends, or during your vacation, or during a changeover or lay off at the plant, or during a strike, or what?
(11) En dónde se quedó usted mientras trabajaba en la labor ese año?--en su casa en... (ciudad o pueblo de residencia)..., en el rancho en donde estaba trabajando, o en la casa de alguien que vivía cerca del rancho?	(11) Where did you stay while doing farm work that year?--at home in...(town of residence)..., on the farm where you were working, or at the home of someone else who lived nearby the farm?

INTERVIEWER: USE THE LINES BELOW WHICH YOU NEED TO RECORD THE INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT, BEGINNING AT THE POINT WHERE THE RESPONDENT ESTABLISHED PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN MICHIGAN UP TO THE PRESENT

		NON-MIGRANT WORK Including MILITARY Service and Periods of UNEMPLOYMENT					MIGRANT FARM LABOR (of any duration)					
R's AGE	**Where RESIDENCE Was** (City/Town)	(1) Occupation: Type of Job or Service Specialty	(2) Kind of Firm or Business Worked for (or highest Ser. Rank)	(3) Av. work hrs. per wk.	(4) Av. pay per wk.	(5) Duration	(6) Do any labor on farm or field w/ migrants	(7) What State(s)	(8) Duration	(9) Did your family work too? (Who?)	(10) Everyday? Weekends? Vacation? Changeover Strike?	(11) Where lived
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					
							No Yes					

INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS OF EVERYONE, EXCEPT THOSE WHO WERE BORN IN MICHIGAN OR THOSE WHO WERE UNDER 16 WHEN THEY CAME TO MICHIGAN. ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS ONE OF THESE TWO EXCEPTIONS SKIP TO Q. 32.

40 19. Me podría explicar qué cosas hizo usted para buscar ese primer trabajo (no de rancho) que
41 tuvo después de venir a vivir en Michigan?

19. How did you go about looking for that first (non-farm) job you had after you came to Michigan to live?

42 (INTERVIEWER: PROBE COMPLETELY TO OBTAIN ENTIRE JOB SEARCH PROCESS)

43 ______________________________

44 ______________________________

PROBE: Hubo alguna otra cosa ______ que hizo, aunque no le ayudó mucho a conseguir ese empleo? ______

PROBE: Was there anything else ______ you did, even though it didn't help much in getting that job? ______

____

UNLESS MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY SOMEWHERE ABOVE, ASK:

45 Fué usted a la Oficina del Empleo? (Michigan Employment Security Commission)

No	0
Si	1

Did you go to the Employment Office? (Michigan Employment Security Commission)

No	0
Yes	1

20. Pensando en su búsqueda de ese primer empleo, cuál hubiera sido la ayuda que más necesitaba
46 usted para ayudarle a conseguirlo?

20. Thinking back to that first job, what would have been the kind of help you most needed to land a job?

47 ______________________________

48 ______________________________

21. Qué fué lo que le gustaba más de ese primer
49 empleo (no de rancho) aquí en Michigan?

21. What did you like most about that first (non-farm) job here in Michigan?

50 PROBE: ______________________________

51 ______________________________

22. Y qué fué lo que no le gustaba de ese primer
52 empleo aquí en Michigan?

22. And what did you like least about that first job here in Michigan?

53 PROBE: ______________________________

54 ______________________________

23. Cuando vino Ud. a Michigan por primera vez para vivir permanentemente, buscó algún tipo de trabajo específico?--aunque tal vez no lo encontraba?

No	0	→ (Pase a P.24)
Si	1	

55

23. When you first came to Michigan to settle permanently, did you look for a specific kind of job, even though you may not have found it?

No	0	→ (Skip to Q.24)
Yes	1	

56 23a. (SI DICE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Qué tipo de trabajo buscó?

____

23a. (IF "YES", ASK:) What kind of a job did you you look for?

____

24. Qué cosas había en...(lugar en donde vivía
57 antes de venir a Michigan)...?--es decir, qué tenía que le dió ganas de salir de allí?

24. What were some of the things that made you want to leave...(place where lived before coming to Michigan)...?

58 ______________________________

59 ______________________________

25. Ahora, pensando en cuando se decidió Ud. a quedarse en Michigan--qué sucedió entonces que le hizo hacer esa decisión?

25. Now, thinking back to the time you decided to stay in Michigan--what happened right then that made you make that decision? 60

PROBE: ______________________________ 61

62

26. Antes de cambiarse a Michigan, tuvo usted alguna idea o información sobre: (LEA LAS CATEGORIAS ABAJO)

26. Before you moved to Michigan, did you have any idea or information about: (READ THE CATEGORIES BELOW) 63

26a. (PARA CADA RESPUESTA DE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Qué idea o información tenía sobre...?

26a. (FOR EACH "YES" ANSWER, ASK:) What idea or information did you have about...? 64 65

26b. Por medio de qué obtuvo Ud. esa información?

26b. How did you get this information? 66

TUVO IDEA O INFORMACION			(26a)	(26b)	HAD IDEA OR INFORMATION			
	No	Si	What Idea/Information Had	How Information Obtained	Yes	No		67
El trabajo aquí?	0	1			1	0	Jobs here?	68
La vivienda aquí?	0	1			1	0	Housing here?	69 70
El trato de los Mejicanos aquí?	0	1			1	0	Treatment of Mexican Americans here?	71
Cualquier ayuda que le dieran para establecerse aquí?	0	1			1	0	The kind of help you might receive in getting settled here?	72 73 74

27. A propósito, cuando usted vino a vivir en Michigan por primera vez quién más vino con usted?

Posiciones de Quienes Más Vinieron ______ No. Total ______

27. By the way, when you first came to Michigan to live, who else came with you? 75 76

Positions of All Others Who Came ______ Total No. ______

28. Vinieron algunos otros de su gente a vivir aquí en Michigan con usted después? (Quiénes?)

Posiciones de Quienes Vinieron Después ______ No. Total ______

28. Did any other merbers of your family come to Michigan to reside permanently with you later? 77 78

Positions of Others Who Came Later ______ Total No. ______

29. Antes de empezar Ud. a vivir en ... (ciudad o pueblo en donde primeramente vivía en Michigan) . .hubo alguna de las siguientes personas que ya vivía allí? (LEA LAS CATEGORIAS ABAJO)

OTHER MIC[illegible]WNS	NO	SI
FAMILY?	0	1
RELATIVES	0	1
COMPAD[illegible]?	0	1
FRIENDS?	0	1

WHERE ______

	No	Si
Su Familia?	0	1
Parientes?	0	1
Compadres?	0	1
Amigos?	0	1

29. Before you settled in...(city or town where first lived in Michigan)...did any of the following people already live there? (READ THE CATEGORIES BELOW) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

OTHER MICH. TOWNS	NO	SI
FAMILY?	0	1
RELATIVES?	0	1
COMPADRES?	0	1
FRIENDS?	0	1

WHERE ______

	No	Si	
Family?	0	1	8
Relatives?	0	1	9
Compadres?	0	1	10
Friends?	0	1	11

INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS ONLY OF THOSE WHO CURRENTLY LIVE IN A TOWN WHICH IS NOT THE TOWN WHERE THEY FIRST SETTLED IN MICHIGAN. (IF STILL LIVE IN THAT FIRST TOWN, SKIP TO Q. 32)

30. Por qué salió usted de...(primer pueblo/ciudad en donde vivió en Michigan)...?

30. Why did you leave...(first town/city where he lived in Michigan)...? 12

PROBE: ______________________________ 13 14

31. Antes de moverse Ud. a ....(ciudad/pueblo en donde vive actualemente)...hubo alguna de las siguientes personas que ya vivía allí?

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS)

	No	Si
Su Familia?	0	1
Parientes?	0	1
Compadres?	0	1
Amigos?	0	1

31. Before you moved to...(city/town where he lives currently)...did any of the following people already live there? 15 16

(READ CATEGORIES)

	No	Yes	
Family?	0	1	17
Relatives?	0	1	18
Compadres?	0	1	
Friends?	0	1	

INTERVIEWER: ASK EVERYONE, FROM THIS PAGE ON

32. Para poner mi información en orden, por favor dígame: está usted ahora..(LEA CATEGORIAS) (MARK ONLY ONE)

19

Empleado (trabajando)?	1
Sin empleo (trabajo) pero buscándolo?	2
"Laid off" por un tiempo o en "sick leave"?	3
No está trabajando ni buscando trabajo	4

32. Now, just to get my information straight, at the present time you are...(READ CATEGORIES) (MARK ONLY ONE)

Employed (working)?	1
Unemployed but looking for a job?	2
Temporarily laid off or on sick leave?	3
Not working and not looking for a job?	4

33. Durante los últimos 12 meses, por cuánto tiempo en total ha estado usted "laid off" de su empleo

20 Months:_____ Weeks:_____

33. During the past 12 months, how long have you been laid off from your job, altogether?

Months:_____ Weeks:_____

INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CURRENT JOB OF THE RESPONDENT. (HOWEVER, IF HE IS NOT WORKING AT PRESENT, ASK THESE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE LAST FULL-TIME JOB HE HAD.)

21 34. Me podría explicar qué cosas hizo usted para buscar su (actual/último) trabajo?

34. How did you go about looking for your (current/last) job?

22 (INTERVIEWER: PROBE COMPLETELY TO OBTAIN ENTIRE JOB SEARCH PROCESS)

23 ______________________________

24 ______________________________

25 ______________________________

PROBE: Hubo alguna otra cosa que hizo, aunque no le ayudó mucho a conseguir el empleo? ______________

PROBE: Was there anything else you did, even though it didn't help much in getting the job? ______________

____

UNLESS MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY SOMEWHERE ABOVE, ASK:

26 Fué usted a la Oficina del Empleo? (Michigan Employment Security Commission)

No	0
Yes	1

Did you go to the Employment Office? (Michigan Employment Security Commission)

No	0
Yes	1

27 35. Y por qué dejó usted el trabajo que tenía antes de su actual trabajo?

35. And why did you leave the job you had before this one?

28 PROBE:______________________________

29 ______________________________

36. Como cuánto tiempo queda su (actual/último) trabajo de su casa?

30 Minutes:_____

36. About how long does it take you to get from your house to the place where you (work/worked)?

Minutes:_____

37. Qué hace (hacía) para transportación al trabajo?

31 (MARQE SOLO UNO)

Caminar	1
Tomar el bus	2
En su propio carro, sólo	3
En su carro, ylleva otros	4
En el carro de otra persona	5

37. How do (did) you get to work?

(MARK ONLY ONE)

Walk	1
Take a bus	2
Drives own car alone	3
Drives own car & takes others	4
Goes in car of someone else	5

38. En total, aproximadamente cuánta gente trabaja en el lugar en donde (trabaja/trabajaba) usted?

32 No. Trabajadores:______

38. Altogether, about how many people work at the place where you (work/worked)?

No. Workers________

33 39. Y como cuánta gente (trabaja/trabajaba) en su sección o departamento?

No. Trabajadores:______

39. And about how many people (work/worked) in your particular section or department?

No. Workers_______

40. Sus amigos en el trabajo, son (eran):

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Todos Mejicanos?	1
Unos Mejicanos y unos otros?	2
Sólo otros y ningun Mexicano?	3

40. Are (were) your friends at work:

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE)

All Mexican-Americans?	1
Some Mex.-Americans & some others?	2
Just others & no Mex.-Americans?	3

34

41. Alguna vez ve (veía) a **cualquiera** de ellos fuera de trabajo?--es decir, socialmente?

No	0
Si	1

41. Do (did) you ever see any of them socially away from work?

No	0
Yes	1

35

42. Ahora, con respecto al lugar en donde trabaja, que tan contento está (estaba) usted en... (nombre del lugar en donde trabaja)...?

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Muy contento?	1
Algo contento?	2
No muy contento?	3

42. Now with regard to the place where you work, how how happy are you at...(name of place where he he works)...? Are (were) you:

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE)

Very happy?	1
Fairly happy?	2
Not very happy?	3

36

43. Y con respecto a la clase de trabajo que hace usted actualmente--que tan satisfecho está usted de ser un...(mencione la clase de trabajo que hace actualmente el entrevistado)...?

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Muy satisfecho?	1	→(Más)
Algo satisfecho?	2	→(Menos)
No muy satisfecho?	3	→(Menos)

43. And how about the line of work that you currently do--how satisfying do you find it to be a... (mention the respondent's current line of work)? Is it:

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE)

Very satisfying?	1	→(Most)
Fairly satisfying?	2	→(Least)
Not very satisfying?	3	→(Least)

37

INTERVIEWER: WHEN ASKING Q. 44, SELECT THE PROPER WORD ACCORDING TO RESPONDENT'S ANSWER TO Q. 43

44. Qué es lo que le da (más) (menos) satisfacción de ser un... (mencione la clase de trabajo que hace actualmente)...?

44. What do you find (most) (least) satisfying about being a...(mention the respondent's current line of work)...?

38
39

45. Piensa usted seguir haciendo su actual clase de trabajo el tiempo que pueda?--o está considerando en cambiar a otra clase?--o con seguridad va a cambiar a otra clase de trabajo?

Seguirá la misma clase	1	→ **(Pase a P.46)**
Considerando en cambiar	2	
Con seguridad cambiará	3	

45. Do you plan to stay in your present line of work as long as you can?--are you thinking of making a change?--or do you definitely plan to change your line of work?

Will stay in present line	1	→(Skip to Q. 46)
Thinking of changing line	2	
Definitely will change	3	

40

45a. A qué otra clase de trabajo piensa usted en cambiarse? (PROBE FOR ONE SPECIFIC TYPE)

45a. What other line of work are you thinking of changing to? (PROBE FOR ONE SPECIFIC TYPE)

41
42

46. Si tuviera la oportunidad, perferiría usted hacer alguna otra clase de trabajo?

No	0	→ (Pase a P. 47)
Si	1	

46. If you had the chance, would you rather be doing some other kind of work?

No	0	→ (Skip to Q. 47)
Yes	1	

43

46a. Qué clase de trabajo más quisiera hacer? (PROBE FOR SINGLE, SPECIFIC TYPE)

46a. What kind of work would you like to do best? (PROBE FOR **SINGLE, SPECIFIC TYPE**)

44
45

47. Si tuviera la oportunidad, estaría usted dispuesto a inscribirse en un programa de entrenamiento por 6 meses, con pago, para así poder conseguir una mejor clase de trabajo?

No	0
Si	1 → (Pase a P. 48)
"Depende"	2 → De que? ________

46

____

47a. (SI DICE "NO", PREGUNTE:) Quiere usted decirme por qué no?

47

____

____

47. If you had the chance, would you be willing to enroll in a 6-month training program, with pay, in order to get into a better line of work?

No	0
Yes	1 → (Skip to Q. 48)
It "depends"	2 → On what? ________

____

47a. (IF "NO", ASK:) Would you mind telling me why not?

____

____

48. (a) En qué "shift" está su trabajo actual? (MARQUE UNO ABAJO)

48 (b) En sus trabajos pasados, qué diferentes
49 "shifts" ha trabajado usted alguna vez? (MARQUE LOS QUE DICE)

50 (c) (SI MENCIONA "TARDE", "NOCHE", O "SWING",
51 PREGUNTE:) Cuál "shift" prefiere usted?

52 (d) (A MENOS DE QUE PREFIERE EL DE "DIA", PREGUNTE:) Por qué prefiere Ud. ..(shift)..?

53

48. What shift is your present job? (MARK ONE BELOW)

(b) In your past jobs, what different shifts have you ever worked? (MARK AS MANY AS RESPONDENT MENTIONS)

(c) IF MENTIONS "AFTERNOON","NIGHT", OR "SWING", ASK:) What shift do you prefer?

(d) (UNLESS PREFERS THE "DAY" SHIFT, ASK:) Why do you prefer ...(shift)...?

	(a) Shift of present job	(b) Shifts of past jobs	(c) Shift preferred	(d) Why that shift preferred (if other than day)
Day (día)	1	1	1	
Afternoon (tarde)	2	2	2 →	________
Night (noche)	3	3	3 →	
Rotating (swing)	4	4	4 →	________

54

55

49. Desde que ha vivido usted en Michigan, ha tenido algún segundo trabajo mientras también tenía su trabajo de "full-time"?

56 No 0 → 49a. Desde que ha vivido en Michigan, alguna vez ha buscado usted un segundo trabajo además de su trabajo de "full-time"?

No	0
Si	1

57

Si 1 → 49b. Qué fué ese segundo trabajo? (DESCRIBIR EN DETALLE)

58

59 ________

____

49. Since you have lived in Michigan, have you ever held a second job when you also held a full-time job?

No 0 → 49a. Since you have lived in Michigan have you ever looked for a second job in addition to your full-time job?

No	0
Yes	1

Yes 1 → 49b. What was that second job? (DESCRIBE FULLY)

____

____

50. En su (actual/último) trabajo es (fué) usted miembro de alguna unión laboral?

60

No	0 → (Pase a P. 51)
Si	1

50a. Cómo se llama la Unión? ________

61 ________

50b. Cada cuándo va usted a los "meetings"?

62 (LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Siempre o casi siempre?	2
De vez en cuando?	1
Casi nunca?	0

50. In your (present/last) job are (were) you a member of any labor union?

No	0 → (Skip to Q. 51)
Yes	1

50a. What is the name of the Union? ________

____

50b. How often do you attend meetings?

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE)

Always or almost always?	2
Occasionally?	1
Almost never?	0

51. Quisiera preguntarle acerca del entrenamiento que usted haya tenido, o las clases que haya atendido, aparte de la escuela primaria o secundaria. De los siguientes, cuáles ha tenido usted?...

51. How about any training you may have had, or classes you attended, apart from your formal education in grade or high school? Which of the following have you done?...

INTERVIEWER: READ EACH TRAINING CATEGORY BELOW. THEY RUN HORIZONTALLY. 63

(FOR EACH "YES" CIRCLED, ASK THE SERIES OF QUESTIONS BELOW)	Specialized Job Training? ENTRENAMIENTO ESPECIALIZADO DE TRABAJO	Apprenticeship Training? ENTRENAMIENTO DE APRENDIZAJE (Construction)	Day or Night Adult Education Classes? CLASES DE EDUCACION ADULTA EN LA ESCUELA	Military Service Schools? ESCUELAS DEL SERVICIO MILITAR	Any Other? (Explain) ALGUN OTRO? (EXPLICAR)	64 65 66
	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	67
a. What did they teach you there? (Qué le ensenaron allí?)						
b. Where was that? (CITY & STATE) (En dónde estaba?)						
c. In what year did you begin? (En qué año comenzó?)						
d. How long did it last? (WEEKS, MONTHS, YEARS) (Cuánto tiempo duró?)						68
e. Did you finish? (Usted lo terminó?)	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	
f. (IF "NO", ASK:) Why not? (Por qué no?)						69
g. Do you think this training helped you in getting a job? (Cree que este entrenamiento le ayudó a conseguir empleo?)	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	No-0 Yes-1	

52. Aparte de lo que hace en su empleo, qué otras cosas sabe usted hacer, o cuáles otras clases de trabajo puede usted hacer?

52a. (PARA CADA COSA MENCIONADA) Alguna vez ha recibido Ud. pago, haciendo ...(trabajo)..?

COSAS QUE SABE HACER	PAGADO No	PAGADO Yes
	0	1
	0	1
	0	1
	0	1

52. Aside from the tasks that you perform on your main job, what other skills do you have or what other kinds of work can you do? 70

52a. (FOR EACH SKILL MENTIONED) Have you ever done...(skill)... for money? 71 72

SKILLS	PAID No	PAID Yes	
			73
	0	1	74
	0	1	75
	0	1	76
	0	1	

53. Alguna vez ha tenido usted un problema en conseguir trabajo por ser un Mejicano? (Aquí en Michigan)

No	0	→(Pase a P. 54)
Si	1	

53a. (SI DICE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Qué problema tuvo? (Que pasó que le hizo pensar de que el hecho de ser Mejicano influyó en lo que sucedió?)

53. Have you ever had trouble getting a job because of being Mexican-American? (Here in Michigan) 77

No	0	→ (Skip to Q.54)
Yes	1	

53a. (IF "YES", ASK:) What trouble did you have? (What happened that made you feel that being Mexican-American was responsible for that happening?) 78

79

PROBE: ____________________

WIFE'S WORK (IF RESPONDENT IS A WOMAN, OR UNMARRIED, SKIP TO NEXT PAGE

Ahora, quisiera preguntarle algunas cosas acerca de cualquier trabajo que haga su esposa. No quiero saber tanto como cuando le pregunté a usted acerca de su propio trabajo. Pero aún así, es importante, ya que una gran parte de la fuerza laboral en los Estados Unidos son esposas que trabajan.

Now, I'd like to ask a bit about any work your wife may do. I don't want to ask as much as I did about your own work. Yet this is also important to our study since such a large part of the labor force in U.S. families today is composed of wives who work.

54. Trabaja su esposa en alguna clase de empleo en donde recibe paga?--ya sea en su casa o fuera de su casa?

No	0
Sí	1 → (Pase a P. 55)

54. First, at the present time, does your wife do any work for which she receives pay?--either away from the house or here at home?

No	0
Yes	1 → (Skip to Q. 55)

54a. (SI DICE "NO", PREGUNTE:) Ha trabajado ella alguna vez en un empleo en el cual recibió paga?

No	0 → (Pase a P. 56)
Yes	1

54a. (IF "NO", ASK:) Did she ever do any work for which she was paid?

No	0 → (Skip to Q. 56)
Yes	1

INTERVIEWER: THE QUESTIONS BELOW REFER TO WIFE'S CURRENT JOB--OR LAST JOB IF SHE IS NOT WORKING NOW

55.(a) En qué clase de negocio o industria (trabaja/trabajaba) ella? __________

55.(a) What kind of business or company (does/did) she work for? __________

(b) Qué clase de trabajo (hace/hizo) ella? (DESCRIBE FULLY) __________

(b) What kind of work (does/did) she do? (DESCRIBE FULLY) __________

(c) MARQUE UNO:

Trabajo está en su casa	1 → (Pase a P. e)
Trabajo está fuera de casa	2
Los dos	3

(c) CHECK ONE:

Work is in her own home	1 → (Skip to Q. e)
Work is away from home	2
Both of the above	3

(d) (SI TRABAJA FUERA, PREGUNTE:) A cuánto tiempo de la casa queda su trabajo? Minutos:______

(d) (IF WORKS AWAY FROM HOME, ASK:) How long does it take her to get to her place of work? Minutes:______

(e) Como cuántas horas a la semana (trabaja/trabajaba) ella? Horas:______

(e) About how many hours per week (does/did) she do this work? Hours:______

(f) Cuánto (gana/ganaba) por (hora/semana/mes)? PREGUNTE EL PERIODO MAS APROPIADO ______por______

(f) How much money (does/did) she earn per (hour/week/month)? (ASK MOST APPROPRIATE PERIOD) ______per______

(g) Por cuánto tiempo (ha hecho/hizo) ella este trabajo? Duracion:______

(g) For how long (has/did) she (held/hold) this job? Duration:______

(h) Qué otras clases de trabajo ha hecho ella recibiendo paga aquí en Michigan?

(h) What other kinds of work has she done for pay here in Michigan?

____

(i) Cuándo fué que ella consiguió su primer empleo aquí en Michigan? Año:______

(i) When did she get her first job here in Michigan? Year:______

56.(ASK EVERYBODY) Desde que usted se estableció en Michigan, han trabajado sus hijos o su esposa con los migratorios en la labor mientras usted hacía su trabajo de siempre?

No	0 → (Pase a P. 57)
Sí	1 → QUIENES?

Sólo la esposa?	1
Sólo los hijos?	2
Los dos?	3

56. (ASK EVERYBODY) Since you have lived permanently in Michigan, have your wife or children ever worked with the migrants in the fields while you were working at your regular job?

No	0 → (Skip to Q. 57)
Yes	1 → WHO WORKED?

Wife only?	1
Children only?	2
Both?	3

56a. Cuándo hacían este trabajo, trabajaban:

Todos los días?	1
Sólo fines de semana	2
Otro?	3

(EXPLICAR)__________

56a. While they did this work, did they work:

Every day?	1
Only weekends?	2
Other?	3

(EXPLAIN)__________

ASK THIS PAGE OF EVERYONE

57. Como usted bien sabe, las gentes son diferentes con respecto a sus salarios, la cantidad de educación que tienen, y sus ocupaciones.

(GIVE RESPONDENT THE CARD WITH THE LADDER)

Quisiera que usted usara esta escalera para darme su opinión acerca de los diferentes niveles de vida de las diferentes gentes que voy a mencionarle. La escalera trabaja de esta manera: Como puede ver, los escalones estan numerados de cero (0) hasta nueve (9).

(POINT OUT THE NINE WITH YOUR FINGER)

El número nueve, en el escalon de arriba, representa a la persona que tiene un nivel social y económico lo más alto que usted pueda imaginarse.

(POINT OUT THE ZERO WITH YOUR FINGER)

El cero, en lo de abajo de la escalera, representa a la persona que está en el nivel social y económico lo más bajo que usted pueda imaginarse.

(RUN YOUR FINGER UP AND DOWN THE LADDER)

Los escalones entre cero y nueve representan a la gente que está en algún lugar entre lo más alto y lo más bajo.

57. As you know, different people and different groups of people are not all equally well off with regard to their incomes, their amount of education, and their occupations.

(GIVE RESPONDENT THE CARD WITH THE LADDER)

I'd like you to use this ladder to give me your opinion about how well off different people are that I'm going to mention to you. The ladder works like this: You'll notice that the steps on the ladder are numbered from zero (0) to nine (9).

(POINT OUT THE NINE WITH YOUR FINGER)

The nine at the top of the ladder represents a person who is in the highest social and economic class that you can imagine.

(POINT OUT THE ZERO WITH YOUR FINGER)

The zero at the bottom of the ladder represents a person who is in the lowest social and economic class that you can imagine.

(RUN YOUR FINGER UP AND DOWN THE LADDER)

The steps on the ladder in between zero and nine represent those people who are somewhere in between these highest and lowest levels.

a. Ahora, con relación a su própio estado social y económico--en dónde cree que se encuentra usted en esta escalera, en la actualidad?	Now, with respect to your own social and economic status--where do you feel that you stand on this ladder at the present time?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	24
b. Y en qué escalon cree usted que estaba hace cinco años?	On what step were you 5 years ago?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	25
c. En qué escalon cree que estará dentro de cinco años?	On what step do you expect to be 5 years from now?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	26
d. En qué escalon pondría Ud. a la mayoría de la gente Mejicana de su pueblo donde creció usted?	On what step would you put the majority of the Mexican-Americans back in the town where you grew up?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	27
e. Y en qué escalon pondría a la mayoría de los Mejicanos en este pueblo aquí?	On what step would you put the majority of the Mexican-Americans in this town?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	28
f. En qué escalon pondría Ud. a la mayoría de Anglos que viven en este pueblo?	On what step would you put the majority of the Anglos living in this town?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	29
g. En qué escalon pondría usted a la mayoría de los Negros que viven en este pueblo?	On what step would you place the majority of the Negroes living in this town?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	30
h. En qué escalon pondría Ud. a los Mejicanos que "les va bien" en este pueblo?	On what step would you put the Mexican-Americans in this town who are doing well?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	31
i. En qué escalon pondría Ud. a los Mejicanos que "no les va bien" en este pueblo?	On what step would you put the Mexican-Americans in this town who are not doing well?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	32
j. Finalmente, hasta dónde cree Ud. que va a ser posible que llegue la proxima generación de nuestra gente (los Mejicano-Americanos) que viven en este pueblo?	Finally, how high do you think it is going to be possible for the next generation of our people (the Mexican-Americans) to go in this town?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	33

INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS OF EVERYONE, UNLESS BORN IN MICHIGAN (IF SO, SKIP TO Q. 60.)

58. Durante el primer año de su residencia en Michigan en cuántas diferentes casas o apartamentos ha vivido por cualquier cantidad de tiempo?

34 No. de casas/apartamentos:________

58. During the first year that you resided in Michigan, how many different houses or apartments did you live in for any length of time?

No. houses/apartments:__________

59. Quisiera preguntarle acerca de la primera casa o apartamento en que usted vivió cuando primeramente se quedó a vivir en Michigan. Esta casa o apartamento sería el primero en él que usted permanenció por lo menos un mes.

59. I'd like to ask you about the first house or apartment you lived in when you began to reside permanently in Michigan. That would be the first house or apartment that you stayed in for at least one month.

(a) Esta primera casa o apartamento estaba en un rancho o en un pueblo?

En un rancho	1
En un pueblo	2
Otro (especifique)	3

35 ______________ ←

(a) Was this first house or apartment on a farm or in a town?

On a farm	1
In town	2
Other (specify)	3

______________ ←

36 (b) Por cuánto tiempo se quedó usted ahí?

37 ______ Años ______ Meses

(b) How long did you stay there?

______ Years ______ Months

38 (c) Vivía alguien más aparte de Ud. y su familia en esa casa?

No	0
Sí	1

(c) Did you share it with others?

No	0
Yes	1

39 (d) Cómo fué que Ud. encontró esa (casa/apartamento)?

(d) How did you find that (house/apartment)?

40 ____

(e) Y esa (casa/apartamento) era mejor o peor que la casa en que Ud. vivía en...(pueblo en donde vivía antes de moverse a Michigan)...?

La primera casa en Michigan era peor	1
Las dos eran casi iguales (DON'T READ)	2
La primera casa en Michigan era mejor	3

41

(e) Was that (house/apartment) better or worse than your house in...(town where lived before settling in Michigan)...?

First house in Michigan was worse	1
Both about the same (DON'T READ)	2
First house in Michigan was better	3

60. ASK EVERYONE Desde que Ud. ha vivido en este pueblo, en cuántas diferentes casas o apartamentos ha vivido?

42 No. de casas/apartamentos:_______

60. Now, since you have lived in this town, how many different houses or apartments have you lived in?

No. houses/apartments:_______

61. Y cuánto tiempo ha vivido en esta (casa/apartamento) en donde vive ahora?

43 ______ Años ______ Meses

61. How about this (house/apartment) where you live now--how long have you lived here?

______ Years ______ Months

44 62. Cuántos cuartos tiene esta (casa/apartamento) en donde vive ahora, contando la cocina pero no contando el baño ni el hall?

45 No de Cuartos:_______

62. How many rooms are there in this (house/apartment) including the kitchen but not counting the bathroom or hall?

No. rooms:_________

INTERVIEWER: IF A ROOM IS DIVIDED INTO TWO FUNCTIONAL AREAS BY A SCREEN OR CURTAIN, COUNT IT AS ONE ROOM)

63. Es usted dueño de esta casa, o la está comprando, o paga renta, o que?

Es dueño/está comprando	1	
Paga renta	2	→(Pase a P. 64)
Otro (especifique)	3	→(Pase a P. 64)

46

63. Do you own or are you buying this home, or do you pay rent, or what?

Own or are buying	1	
Pay rent	2	→ (Skip to Q. 64)
Other (specify)	3	→ (Skip to Q. 64)

47 63a. Está comprando esta casa en un:

Land contract?	1
Mortgage?, o	2
Ya está pagado?	3

63a. Are you buying the house on a:

Land contract?	1
Mortgage?, or	2
It's fully paid	3

64. Cuánto paga (de renta) (en pagos) por mes?

$__________por mes

64. How much (rent) (payment) do you pay per month?

$__________per month 48

65. Cómo fué que encontró este lugar?

____

65. How did you find this place? 49

__________ 50

66. Está Ud. pensando en moverse de esta casa eventualmente, o cree que va a quedarse permanentemente en adelante?

Pensando en moverse	1	
Va a quedarse	2	→(Pase a P.67)
No sabe (DON'T READ)	9	→(Pase a P.67)

66. Are you planning to move from this house eventually, or do you think that you will remain here permanently from now on?

Planning to move	1	
Will remain here	2	→ (Skip to Q.67)
Don't know (DON'T READ)	9	→ (Skip to Q.67)

51

66a. Por qué se quiere salir?

66a. Why do you want to move? 52

PROBE:__________ 53

66b. Piensa cambiarse a otra casa en este mismo barrio?

No	0	
Si	1	→ (Pase a P. 67)

66b(1). (SI DICE "NO", PREGUNTE:) A dónde piensa Ud. moverse?

____

66b. Are you planning to move to another house in this same neighborhood?

No	0	
Yes	1	→ (Skip to Q. 67)

54

66b(1). (IF "NO", ASK:) Where are you planning to move to? 55

____

67. Alguna vez ha tenido Ud. dificultad en encontrar la casa en donde le gustaría vivir, y a un precio que Ud. puede pagar, sólo por el hecho de ser Mexicano?

No	0	→ (Pase a P. 68)
Si	1	

67a. (SI DICE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Qué clase de dificultades ha tenido en encontrar casas de vivir? (Qué fué lo que le hizo creer que estos problemas se debían a que Ud. es Mejicano?)

67. Have you ever had trouble finding the kind of house where you wanted to live, at a price you could afford to pay, just because you were Mexican-American?

No	0	→ (Skip to Q. 68)
Yes	1	

56

67a. (IF "YES", ASK:) What kinds of trouble have you had in finding the kind of house you wanted to live in? (What made you feel that being Mexican-American was responsible for the trouble?) 57

58

PROBE:__________ 59

____

INTERVIEWER: THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE FOR CITY OR TOWN RESIDENTS ONLY. (IF RESPONDENT LIVES ON A FARM, SKIP TO Q. 76)

68. Ahora, quisiera hacerle unas preguntas breves acerca de la gente que vive por aquí. Ninguna de estas preguntas sería muy personal. Por ejemplo:

Sus vecinos que viven al lado derecho de su casa son:

Buenos amigos de usted?, o	1
No son buenos amigos?	2

68. Now a few brief questions about the people you know who live around here. None of the questions should be very personal. For example:

Are the people who live next door to you, on the right-hand side:

Good friends of yours?, or	1
Not very friendly?	2

60

69. Y son estos mismos vecinos:

Mejicanos?	1
Anglos?	2
Negros?	3
Otro? (SPECIFY)	4

69. And, are these people next door:

Mexican-Americans?	1
Anglos?	2
Negroes?	3
Other? (SPECIFY)	4

61

70. Y sus vecinos que viven al otro lado--al lado izquierdo--son:

Buenos amigos de Ud.?, o	1
No son buenos amigos?	2

62

70. And the people who live next door to you on the other (left-hand) side?--are they:

Good friends of yours?, or	1
Not very friendly?	2

71. Y son ellos:

Mejicanos?	1
Anglos?	2
Negros?	3
Otros (SPECIFY)	4

63

71. And are they:

Mexican-Americans?	1
Anglos?	2
Negroes?	3
Others (SPECIFY)	4

72. Como cuantas familias de Mejicanos viven en este bloque (cuadra), de los dos lados de la calle?

64

65 No. de Familias:_____ (COUNT RESPONDENT'S FAMILY AS "1")

72. About how many Mexican-American families live on this block, both on this side of the street and across the street?

No. of Families:_____ (COUNT RESPONDENT'S FAMILY AS "1")

INTERVIEWER: UNLESS RESPONDENT'S IS THE ONLY MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY ON THE BLOCK, ASK:

72a. Son algunas de estas familias de su misma gente?

No	0
Si	1

66

72a. Are any of these people your relatives or family?

No	0
Yes	1

73. Cuanto tiempo tiene usted de vivir en este barrio?

67 Anos:________ Meses:________

73. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?

Years:________ Months:______

74. Y la gente que vive en este barrio:

La mayoria son Mejicanos?	1
La mayoria son Anglos?	2
La mayoria son Negros?	3

68

74. Are the people who live in this neighborhood:

Mostly Mexican-American?	1
Mostly Anglo?	2
Mostly Negro?	3

75. Viven algunos (otros) de su gente por aqui en este barrio?

No	0
Si	1

69

75. Do any (others) of your family or relatives live here in this neighborhood?

No	0
Yes	1

INTERVIEWER: AFTER COMPLETING THIS QUESTION, SKIP TO Q. 80. QUESTIONS 76 to 79 ARE FOR FARM DWELLERS ONLY

76. Hay algunas otras familias Mejicanas viviendo en este rancho?

No	0
Si	1

70

76. Are there any other Mexican-American families living on this farm?

No	0
Yes	1

77. Hay algunas familias Mejicanas que viven en el siguiente rancho, de cualquiera de los dos lados, o en el otro lado del camino?

No	0 → (Pase a P. 78)
Si	1 → Cuantas familias?_________

71

Algunos de ellos son de su gente?

No	0
Si	1

72

77. Are there any Mexican-Americans living on the next farm over, in either direction, or on a farm across the road from here?

No	0 → (Skip to Q. 78)
Yes	1 → How many families?_________

Are any of them your family or relatives?

No	0
Yes	1

78. Diria que las gentes de por aqui son:

Amistosas?, o	1
No muy amistosas?	2

73

78. Are the people around here:

Friendly?, or	1
Not very friendly?	2

79. Que tan lejos esta de su rancho a la casa de la (otra) familia Mejicana mas cerca de por aqui? (Aparte de cualquiera familia ya mencionada en las preguntas anteriores)

74

No. de Millas:_________

79. How far is it from your farm to the house of the nearest other Mexican-American family around here? (Apart from any Mexican-American families already mentioned in the questions above)

No. of Miles:________

ASK OF EVERYONE 1

80. Tienen Uds. parientes o familia en este (pueblo) (área) pero que no viven (en este barrio) (cerca de aquí)?

No	0	→ (Pase a P. 81)
Si	1	

80a. En general, cada cuándo los ve usted?

No. veces:______por (semana, mes, año)

80. Do you have relatives or family in this (city) (farm area) who don't live (in this neighborhood) (close by)? 2 3 4 5

No	0	→ (Skip to Q. 81) 6
Yes	1	7

80a. In general, about how often do you see them? 8

No. times:______per (week, month, year) 9

81. En cuáles otros pueblos de Michigan tienen Uds. parientes o familia?

81. In what other towns in Michigan do you have relatives or family? 10 11

OTHER MICHIGAN TOWNS:________________________________ 12

81a. (A MENOS DE QUE NO HAY PARIENTES EN OTROS PUEBLOS, PREGUNTE:) Cada cuándo visitan Uds. a su gente que viven en otros pueblos?

(LEA CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Al menos una vez a la semana?	1
Como una o dos veces al mes?	2
Varias veces al año?, o	3
Con menos frecuencia?	4

81a. (UNLESS NO RELATIVES IN OTHER TOWNS, ASK:) About how often do you visit with any of your family or relatives living out of town?

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE) 13

At least once a week?	1
About once or twice a month?	2
Several times a year?, or	3
Less often?	4

82. En cuáles otros pueblos de Michigan tienen Uds. amigos o compadres?

82. In what other towns in Michigan do you have friends or compadres? 14 15

OTHER MICHIGAN TOWNS:________________________________ 16

82a. (A MENOS DE QUE NO HAY AMIGOS/COMPADRES EN OTROS PUEBLOS, PREGUNTE:) Cada cuándo visita Ud. con algún amigo o compadre en otro pueblo?

(LEA CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA)

Al menos una vez a la semana?	1
Como una o dos veces al mes?	2
Varias veces al año?, o	3
Con menos frecuencia?	4

82a. (UNLESS NO FRIENDS/COMPADRES IN OTHER TOWNS, ASK:) About how often do you visit with any friend or compadre out of town?

(READ CATEGORIES & MARK ONE) 17

At least once a week?	1
About once or twice a month?	2
Several times a year?, or	3
Less often?	4

83. Viven la mayoría de sus mejores amigos en este (barrio) (área), o viven en alguna otra parte?

Viven en el barrio (área)	1	→(Pase a P.84)
Viven en otra parte	2	

83a. (SI "OTRA PARTE", PREGUNTE:) En dónde vive la mayoría de sus mejores amigos?

ESPECIFICAR:______________________

83. Do most of your best friends live in this (neighborhood) (farm area), or do they live elsewhere?

Live in neighborhood (area)	1	→(Skip to Q.84) 18
Live somewhere else	2	

83a. (IF "ELSEWHERE", ASK:) Where do most of your best friends live?

SPECIFY:______________________ 19

84. A propósito, juegan los hijos suyos principalmente con:

(LEA Y MARQUE UNA)

Niños Mejicanos?	1
Niños que no son Mejicanos?	2
Los dos?	3
No juegan con nadie (DON'T READ)	4

84. By the way, do your children play mostly with:

(READ & MARK ONE) 20

Mexican-American children?	1
Children who aren't Mexican-American?	2
Both kinds of children?	3
They play with nobody (DON'T READ)	4

84. Ahora, hace Ud. alguna vez cualquiera de las siguientes actividades? (LEA CATEGORIAS ABAJO)

84a. (PARA CADA "SI") Donde?--en este barrio, en otro barrio, o en otro pueblo?

84. Now, do you do any of the following things in your spare time? (READ CATEGORIES BELOW) 21 22

84a. (FOR EACH "YES") Where?--in this barrio in another barrio, or another town? 23

		Does It?		Where?			24 25
		No	Yes	This Barrio	This Town	Other Town	26
a. Comer en un restaurant Mejicano?	Eat at a Mexican restaurant?	0	1	1	2	3	27
b. Ir al cine en Español?	Go to Spanish-language movies?	0	1	1	2	3	28
c. Tomarse unas copas en un bar a donde van principalmente los Mejicanos?	Have a few drinks at a bar where mostly Mexican-Americans go?	0	1	1	2	3	29 30
d. Ir a bailes Españoles o Mejicanos?	Go to Spanish or Mexican dances?	0	1	1	2	3	31
e. Jugar barajas, dominó, o dados?	Play cards, dominoes, or dice?	0	1	1	2	3	32
f. Ir a "parties" y reuniones?	Go to parties?	0	1	1	2	3	33
g. Jugar o atender los juegos Mejicanos de baseball?	Play in or attend Mexican-American baseball games?	0	1	1	2	3	34

35

85. Tienen Uds. un televisor que está trabajando aquí en su casa?

No	0
Si	1

85. Do you have a television set that's working here at home?

No	0
Yes	1

36

37

86. Tuvo Ud. la oportunidad de mirar la televisión ayer?

No	0
Si	1

→ Por cuánto tiempo miró Ud. la T.V. ayer? Hrs:_____

86. Did you happen to watch television at all yesterday?

No	0
Yes	1

→ About how long did you watch T.V. yesterday? Hrs:_____

38

86a. (SI NO LA VIO AYER) Cuándo fué la última vez que miró Ud. la televisión?

39

Antier	1
Hace 3 a 4 días	2
Hace 5 a 7 días	3
Hace más de 1 semana	4
Nunca ve T.V.	5

Como cuánto tiempo pasó Ud. viendo la T.V. esa vez? Hrs._______

86a. (IF DIDN'T WATCH YESTERDAY) When was the last time you watched T.V.?

Day before yesterday	1
3-4 days ago	2
5-7 days ago	3
More than a week ago	4
Never watch T.V.	5

About how long did you watch T.V. that time? Hrs._______

40

87. Tienen Uds. un radio que está trabajando aquí en su casa?

No	0
Si	1

87. Do you have a radio that's working here at home?

No	0
Yes	1

41

42

88. Acaso escuchó Ud. el radio ayer?

No	0
Si	1

→ Por cuánto tiempo escuchó Ud. el radio ayer? Hrs:_____

88. Did you happen to listen to the radio at all yesterday?

No	0
Yes	1

→ About how long did you listen to radio yesterday? Hrs:_______

43

44

88a. (SI NO ESCUCHO AYER) Cuándo fué la última vez que escuchó Ud. el radio?

Antier	1
Hace 3 a 4 días	2
Hace 5 a 7 días	3
Hace más de 1 semana	4
Nunca escucha radio	5

Como cuánto tiempo pasó Ud. escuchando radio esa vez? Hrs:_______

88a. (IF DIDN'T LISTEN YESTERDAY) When was the last time you listened to the radio?

Day before yesterday	1
3-4 days ago	2
5-7 days ago	3
More than a week ago	4
Never listen to radio	5

About how long did you listen to radio that time? Hrs:______

45

89. Alguna vez escucha Ud. los programas de radio en Español aquí en Michigan?

No	0
Si	1

→ Cada cuándo los escucha Ud.?

46

Al menos 1 vez por semana	1
1-2 veces al mes	2
Con menos frecuencia	3

89. Do you ever listen to Spanish-language radio programs here in Michigan?

No	0
Yes	1

→ How often do you listen to them?

At least once a week	1
1-2 times a month	2
Less often	3

47

90. Algunas personas leen un periódico (papel) todos los días, y otros no porque están muy ocupados o prefieren obtener las noticias del radio o la T.V. Cada cuándo lee Ud. un periódico?—diría:

(LEA TODAS LAS CATEGORIAS ANTES DE MARCAR UNA)

Menos de 1 vez por semana?	0
1 vez a la semana?	1
2 veces a la semana?	2
3 veces a la semana?	3
4 veces a la semana?	4
5 veces a la semana?	5
6 veces a la semana?	6
Todos los días?, o	7
Nunca?	8

90. Some people read a newspaper everyday, and others don't because they're too busy or because they'd rather get their news from the radio or T.V. How often do you read a newspaper? Would you say...

(READ ALL THE CATEGORIES BEFORE MARKING ONE)

Less than once a week?	0
Once a week?	1
2 times a week?	2
3 times a week?	3
4 times a week?	4
5 times a week?	5
6 times a week?	6
Everyday?, or	7
Never?	8

48

91. Tiene Ud. un periódico (papel) entregado a su casa?

No	0
Si	1

91. Do you have a newspaper delivered to your home?

No	0
Yes	1

92. Cuándo fué la última vez que hojeó o leyó Ud. una revista (magazine)? Fué:

(LEA TODAS LAS CATEGORIAS ANTES DE MARCAR UNA)

Hoy o ayer?	1
Hace unos cuantos días?	2
Hace una semana?	3
Hace más de una semana?, o	4
Nunca?	5

92. When was the last time you looked through or did some reading in a magazine? Was it:

(READ ALL THE CATEGORIES BEFORE MARKING ONE)

Today or yesterday?	1
A few days ago?	2
A week ago?	3
Longer than a week ago?,or	4
Never?	5

49

93. Cuándo fué la última vez que salió Ud. al cine? Fue:

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS)

Esta semana?	1
La semana pasada?	2
Hace 2 o 3 semanas?	3
Hace 1 mes o más?	4

93. When was the last time you went out to see a movie? Was it:

(READ THE CATEGORIES)

This week?	1
Last week?	2
2 or 3 weeks ago?	3
A month ago or more?	4

50

94. Esa última vez, estuvo la pelicula en Inglés o en Español?

Inglés	1
Español	2

94. Was that last movie you saw in English or in Spanish?

English	1
Spanish	2

51

95. De qué manera se informa Ud. sobre lo que sucede localmente--aquí en...(ciudad/pueblo)...y por aquí donde vive? Consigue Ud. la mayoría de sus noticias locales de los periódicos o el radio o la televisión o hablando con la gente? De cuál consigue Ud. la mayoría de sus noticias locales?

(MARQUE SOLO UNA)

Televisión	1
Radio	2
Periódicos	3
Hablando a gente	4

95. How do you find out what's going on locally--here in...(town)...and around where you live? Do you get most of your local news from newspapers or radio or television or talking to people? From which one do you get most of your local news?

(MARK ONLY ONE)

Television	1
Radio	2
Newspapers	3
Talking to people	4

52

96. A qué organizaciones o clubes pertenece Ud.?
[redacted]

96a. (PARA CADA ORGANIZACION MENCIONADA, PREGUNTE: Va Ud. a los meetings y participa en las actividades de ...(organización)..?

NAME OF ORGANIZATION/CLUB	GO TO MEETINGS,ETC. No	Sí
1. ______	0	1
2. ______	0	1
3. ______	0	1

96. What organizations or clubs do you belong to?
[redacted]

96a. (FOR EACH ORGANIZATION MENTIONED, ASK:) Do you attend the meetings and participate in the activities of ...(organization)...?

NAME OF ORGANIZATION/CLUB	GO TO MEETINGS,ETC. No	Yes
1. ______	0	1
2. ______	0	1
3. ______	0	1

53

54

55

56

97. A propósito, quiénes son los hombres o mujeres que Ud. diría son los líderes de la gente Mejicana en esta ciudad (pueblo)?

97. By the way, who are the men or women you would call spokesman or leaders of the Mexican-American people in this city (town)?

INTERVIEWER: TRY TO OBTAIN FULL NAMES: ______

57

98. Y de todo el estado de Michigan, quiénes son los hombres o mujeres que Ud. diría son los líderes de la gente Mejicana en Michigan?

98. In the whole state of Michigan, who are the men or women you would call spokesmen or leaders of the Mexican-American people in Michigan?

58

(THEY MAY BE THE SAME PEOPLE ALREADY NAMED IN Q. 97): ______

59

99. Qué otros Mejicanos que son conocidos e importantes en los Estados Unidos me puede Ud. nombrar? PROBE: (Alguién más?)

99. What other Mexican-Americans who are prominent in the United States can you name? PROBE: (Any others?)

60

______

61

100. Tiene Ud. de su gente o buenos amigos en la parte de Texas dañada por las recientes inundaciones?

62

No	0	→ (Pase a P. 101)
Si	1	

100a. Tuvo Ud. noticias de ellos sobre cómo les fué durante las inundaciones?

63

No	0
Si	1

100b. Les ha ayudado Ud. o piensa ayudarlos en cualquier forma?

64

65

No	0	
Si	1	→ En qué forma?________________

66 ________________

100. Do you have any relatives or close friends in the part of Texas affected by the recent floods?

No	0	→ (Skip to Q. 101)
Yes	1	

100a. Did you hear from them about their situation during the floods?

No	0
Yes	1

100b. Have you helped them or do you plan to help them in any way?

No	0	
Yes	1	→ How?________________

____

101. De vez en cuando la gente se encuentra con problemas o emergencias inesperadas, y tienen que pedir ayuda de amigos o parientes u otras personas.

Le voy a mencionar unos diferentes tipos de problemas que la gente podría tener, y quisiera que me dijera, para cada tipo de problema, si usted alguna vez ha tenido ocasión de ayudar o dar información a otra persona respecto a ese problema, aquí en Michigan.

I. Por ejemplo, ha usted o alguien en su familia ayudado a otro para ponerse en contacto con sus parientes o amigos aquí en Michigan? (SI DICE "SI", PREGUNTE:) Fué esa persona que ayudó un pariente, un amigo, o alguna otra persona (o agencia)?

II. Ahora, viéndolo desde el otro lado, ha usted o alguien en su familia alguna vez recibido ayuda de otros para ponerse en contacto con amigos o parientes aquí en Michigan? (SI DICE "SI") Quién le ayudó a usted?

101. Occasionally people find themselves faced with unexpected problems or emergencies and have to ask friends, relatives or others to help them out.

I'm going to mention a few different kinds of problems which people can have, and I'd like you to tell me, for each kind, whether or not you have ever given information or help to anyone else concerning that type of problem, here in Michigan.

I. For example, have you or anyone in your family helped anyone else get in contact with his friends or relatives here in Michigan? (IF "YES", ASK:) Was the person you helped a relative, a friend, or some other person (or an agency)?

II. Now, looking at it from the other way around, have you or anyone in your family ever received help to get in contact with friends or relatives here in Michigan? (IF "YES", ASK:) Who helped you?

INTERVIEWER: OBTAIN SIMILAR INFORMATION FOR EACH TYPE OF HELP LISTED BELOW

	Alguna vez ayudó Ud. a alguien... Alguna vez le ayudó a Ud. otra persona...	Did you ever help anyone... Did anyone ever help you...	Mark Either "Yes" or "No" on Each Line	0	1	IDENTIFICATION OF HELPERS/HELPED Interviewer: You May Mark More Than One Relative	Friend	Other Person (SPEC.)	Group or Agency (SPECIFY)
67	a. Poniéndose en contacto con parientes o amigos aquí en Michigan?	To get in contact with relatives or friends here in Michigan?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
68			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
69	b. Con transportación o para ir a algún lado?	With transportation or going some place?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
70			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
71	c. Para encontrar una casa?	To find a home?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		
72			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		
73	d. Para encontrar trabajo?	To find a job?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		
74			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		
75	e. Con ayuda o consejos sobre problemas en el trabajo?	With help or advice on a problem concerning (his) (your) job or work?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
76			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
77	f. Con préstamos de dinero?	With loans or gifts of money?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
78			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
79	g. Con cuarto y comida?	With room and board?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
80			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
7 8	h. Con abarrotes, comestibles?	With groceries?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
9			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X
10	i. Con ropa?	With clothing?	Given	No	Yes	1	2		X
11			Rec'd	No	Yes	1	2		X

102. Ahora, quisieramos cambiar de tema un poco. Cuál es su preferencia religiosa?

Católica	1
Protestante	2 → De qué iglesia?________
Otra cosa	3 → Cuál es?________
No tiene	4

102. Now we'd like to change the subject a bit. What is your religious preference?

Catholic	1
Protestant	2 → What denomination?________
Something else	3 → What is it?________
No preference	4

12
13

103. (UNLESS HAVE "NO PREFERENCE") Ha pertenicido Ud. siempre a ...(religión en P. 102)...?

No	0
Sí	1 → (Pase a P. 104)

103a. A cuál religión pertenecía Ud. antes?

____

103b. Hace cuánto que cambió? Años:______

103. (UNLESS HAVE "NO PREFERENCE") Have you always been a ...(religion mentioned in Q. 102)...?

No	0
Yes	1 → (Skip to Q. 104)

14

103a. What was your religious preference before? 15

____

103b. When did you make the change? Years:______ 16

104. Diría usted que va a servicios religiosos:

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS)

Siempre?	1
De vez en cuando?	2
Rara vez?	3
Nunca?	4

104. Would you say you attend religious services:

(READ ANSWER CATEGORIES)

Regularly?	1
Occasionally?	2
Hardly ever?	3
Never?	4

17

105. De toda la gente que va a su iglesia, como cuántos son de habla española? Diría usted que:

(LEA LAS CATEGORIAS)

Todos?	1
La mayoría?	2
Pocos?	3
Ninguno?	4
No sabe (DON'T READ)	9

105. About how many of the people who go to your church are Spanish-speaking? Would you say?

(READ ANSWER CATEGORIES)

All of them?	1
Most of them?	2
Only a few?	3
None	4
Don't know (DON'T READ)	9

18

106. Tiene su iglesia servicios en Español?

No	0
Sí	1

106. Does your church have services in Spanish?

No	0
Yes	1

19

107. En dónde queda su iglesia? Queda en:

LEA LAS CATEGORIAS

Este barrio?	1
En este pueblo pero en otro barrio	2
En otro pueblo?	3

107. Where is your church located? Is it in:

(READ ANSWER CATEGORIES)

This neighborhood?	1
This town, but another neighborhood?	2
Another town?	3

20

108. (ASK UNLESS RESPONDENT WAS BORN IN MICHIGAN) Desde que usted se estableció aquí en Michigan, va usted a la iglesia más seguido, menos seguido, o lo mismo que cuando vivía en...(su pueblo antes de venir a Michigan)...?

Más seguido aquí	3
Lo mismo	2
Menos seguido aquí	1

108. (ASK UNLESS RESPONDENT WAS BORN IN MICHIGAN) Since settling in Michigan, how does your church attendance compare with what it was when you lived in...(town where lived before coming to Michigan)..?

More frequent here in Michigan	3
About the same	2
Less frequent here in Michigan	1

21

INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO NOW HAVE SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN, OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q. 110

109. Las escuelas adonde van sus hijos, son públicas, o de la iglesia, o los dos?

Sólo a escuelas públicas	1
Sólo a las de la iglesia	2
Los dos tipos	3

109. Are the schools that your children go to public, or parochial (church), or both?

Public schools only	1
Church schools only	2
Both kinds	3

22

110.(ASK EVERYONE) Hasta dónde le gustaría que un hijo suyo llegara en la escuela?

(DON'T READ)

Completar el 8 (octavo) año	1
Completar el Junior High School	2
Completar el Senior High School	3
Ir a la Universidad	4

110. How far would you like a son to go in school?

Complete 8th grade	1
Complete Junior High School	2
Complete Senior High School	3
Go to college	4

23

24 111. Qué clase de trabajo le gustaría que hiciera un hijo suyo?

PROBE FOR SPECIFIC JOB: ____________________

111. What kind of work would you like to see a son of yours do?

25 112. Hasta dónde le gustaría que una hija suya llegara en la escuela?

DON'T READ

Completar el 8 (octavo) grado	1
Completar el Junior High School	2
Completar el Senior High School	3
Ir a la Universidad	4

112. How far would you like a daughter of yours to go in school?

DON'T READ

Complete 8th grade	1
Complete Junior High School	2
Complete Senior High School	3
Go to college	4

26 113. Le gustaría que una hija suya tuviera: (READ)

Una carrera u ocupación para toda la vida, aún para después de que se case?	1
Una carrera u ocupación temporal sólo hasta que se case?	2
Ninguna ocupación o carrera, ni antes ni después de que se case?	3

113. Would you like a daughter of yours to have: (READ)

A lifetime career or occupation to work at even after she gets married?	1
A temporary career or occupation only until she gets married?	2
Have no occupation or career at all neither before nor after she marries?	3

114. Muchos de nosotros podemos entendernos en más de un idioma. Quisiera hacerle unas preguntas acerca de los diferentes idiomas que usted usa. Primeramente, escribe Ud. alguna vez cartas en Español a sus amigos o parientes?

27

No	0	
Si	1	→ (Pase a P. 115)

114a. Podría Ud. escribir una carta en Español si quisiera o tuviera que escribirla?

28

No	0
Si	1

114. Many of us are able to get along in more than one language. I'd like to ask you a few questions about the different languages that you use. First, do you ever write letters to friends or relatives in Spanish?

No	0	
Yes	1	→ (Skip to Q. 115)

114a. Could you write a letter in Spanish if you wanted to or had to?

No	0
Yes	1

29 115. Hay alguien más en su familia (como por ejemplo su esposa o sus hijos) que puede leer o escribir en Español?

30

No	0			
Si	1	→ Quiénes?	Adultos	1
			Hijos	2

115. Can anyone else in this family (like your wife or any of the children) read or write in Spanish?

No	0			
Yes	1	→ Who?	Adults	1
			Children	2

31 116. Ha llenado Ud. alguna vez una aplicación en Inglés?

No	0	
Si	1	→ (Pase a P. 117)

116a. Podría Ud. llenar una aplicación en Inglés si quisiera o tuviera que hacerlo?

32

No	0
Si	1

116. Have you ever filled out an application in English?

No	0	
Yes	1	→ (Skip to Q. 117)

116a. Could you fill out an application in English if you wanted to or had to?

No	0
Yes	1

33 117. Hay alguien (más) en su familia que puede leer o escribir en Inglés?

34

No	0			
Si	1	→ Quiénes?	Adultos	1
			Hijos	2

117. Can anyone (else) in this family read or write in English?

No	0			
Yes	1	→ Who?	Adults	1
			Children	2

35 118. En qué idioma hablaba Ud. con sus Padres cuando era chiquito? Hablaba:

(READ)

Casi sólo en Español?	1
Casi sólo en Inglés?	2
En los dos, como mitad y mitad?	3

118. What language did you speak with your parents when you were a child? Was it:

(READ)

Mostly Spanish?	1
Mostly English?	2
Both, about half and half?	3

36 119. Qué idioma habla Ud. con las personas adultas de su familia aquí en casa? Hablan Uds.:

(READ)

Casi sólo en Español?	1
Casi sólo en Inglés?	2
En los dos, como mitad y mitad?	3

119. What language do you usually speak with other adult members of your family here at home? Is it:

(READ)

Mostly in Spanish?	1
Mostly in English?	2
Both, about half and half?	3

120. Y en qué idioma habla Ud. con sus hijos aquí en su casa? Habla:

(READ)

Casi sólo en Español?	1
Casi sólo en Inglés?	2
En los dos, como mitad y mitad?	3

120. And what language do you usually speak with your children here at home? Is it:

(READ)

Mostly Spanish?	1	
Mostly English?	2	37
Both, about half and half?	3	

121. En dónde aprendió Ud. a hablar Inglés?

Estado: ____________________

121. Where did you learn to speak English? 38

State: ____________________

122. Cuántos años tenía Ud. cuando ya hablaba Inglés igual como lo habla ahora?

Edad: ________

122. How old were you when you could already speak English as well as you speak it now? 39

Age: ______ 40

123. Ahora, nos interesa saber su opinión personal acerca del lugar que ocupa nuestra cultura Mejicana y nuestra gente en los Estados Unidos. Para empezar, por favor léa estas declaraciones en la tarjeta. Por favor léa las dos declaraciones para usted mismo la primera vez, y después léame en voz alta la declaración que mejor representa su propia opinión.

123. We are interested in knowing your personal opinion regarding the place of our Mexican culture and Mexican-Americans in the United States. Let's start out by you reading these statements on the card. Please read both of the statements to yourself first. Then read me aloud the one which best represents the way you feel.

INTERVIEWER: HAND THE CARD TO RESPONDENT UPSIDE-DOWN AS PART OF A LITERACY TEST. GIVE HIM THE ENGLISH CARD FIRST, THEN THE SPANISH CARD ONLY IF HE CANNOT READ THE ENGLISH. IF RESPONDENT CAN READ NEITHER, READ THE STATEMENTS TO HIM IN SPANISH. (CHECK INFORMATION BELOW) 41 42

LITERACY: Language Used

English	1
Spanish	2

Read the entire statement correctly	1
Read the statement only partially correctly	2
Did not read the statement at all correctly	3

ATTITUDES: (Agrees with) 43

Statement G	1
Statement H	2
Undecided	3

124. (HAND RESPONDENT 7-POINT SCALE) Ahora, quiero que use Ud. esta tarjeta para indicar su preferencia para algunas diferentes cosas que le voy a mencionar. Fíjese Ud. que tiene rayitas, numeradas de 1 a 7. El número siete (POINT OUT) representa la preferencia más fuerte posible que uno podría tener a favor de la declaración. El número uno (POINT OUT) representa la preferencia más fuerte posible que uno podría tener en contra de la declaración. Los números de 2 a 6 son para usarse para aquellas declaraciones cuando su preferencia de Ud., ya sea a favor o en contra, sea menos fuerte.

Vamos a empezar con la primera declaración: "Tener principalmente amigos Mejicanos". Qué número mejor indica su propia preferencia con respecto a esta declaración?

124. (HAND RESPONDENT 7-POINT SCALE) Now I'd like you to use this card to indicate your preference for some different things that I'm going to mention to you. You'll notice that there are seven lines numbered from 1 to 7. The number seven (POINT OUT) represents the strongest possible preference which someone can have in favor of the statement. The number one (POINT OUT) represents the strongest possible preference which someone can have against the statement. The numbers in between, that is from 2 to 6, are to be used for those statements about which your preference either for or against them may be less strong.

Let's start with the first statement: "Have mostly Mexican-American friends". What number best indicates your preference regarding this statement?

INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE THE NUMBER IN THE BOX BELOW WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE RESPONDENT'S REPLY, AND CONTINUE ON READING THE STATEMENTS UNTIL ALL OF THEM ARE FINISHED.

		Strongest AGAINST						Strongest IN FAVOR	
a. Tener principalmente amigos Mejicanos.	Have mostly Mexican-American friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	44
b. Que sus hijos juegen principalmente con otros niños Mejicanos.	Have your children play mainly with other Mexican-American children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	45
c. Tener un Mejicano de vecino en la casa próxima.	Have a Mexican-American as a next door neighbor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	46
d. Que la gente que vive en este barrio (area) sea la mayoría Mejicanos?	Have a majority of Mexican-Americans in your (neighborhood) (farm area).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	47
e. Que haya una mayoría de niños Mejicanos en la escuela a que van sus hijos	Have a majority of Mexican-American children in your children's schools.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	48
f. Ir a una iglesia en que la mayoría de los miembros son Mejicanos.	Have a church where most of the members are Mexican-American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	49

(THIS SERIES CONTINUES ON THE NEXT PAGE!!)

124. (CONTINUED)		Strongest AGAINST						Strongest IN FAVOR
50 g. Tener una mayoría de miembros Mejicanos en cualquier organización a que usted pertenezca.	Have a majority of Mexican-Americans in any organization of which you are a member.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51 h. Tener una organización política exclusivamente para los Mejicanos?	Have a separate political organization for Mexican-Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52 i. Que sus hijos tengan "dates" sólo con otros Mejicanos.	Have your children date only Mexican-Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53 j. Que sus hijos sólo se casen con otros Mejicanos.	Have your children marry only Mexican-Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

125. Todos queremos ciertas cosas en la vida. Piense por un momento en las cosas que de veras tienen importancia para Ud. Después, dígame cuál sería la mejor clase de vida que Ud. puede imaginarse. Imagínese que todo lo que Ud. deseara pudiera ser cierto. Cuál sería la mejor vida para usted?

125. All of us want certain things in life. Think for a moment about what really matters to you. Then describe for me the best life you can imagine. Assume that you could have everything just as you want it. What would the best life be like for you?

INTERVIEWER: PROBE THIS QUESTION VERY WELL UNTIL THE RESPONDENT HAS TOLD YOU EVERYTHING THAT HE CAN THINK OF. YOU HAVE PLENTY OF SPACE BELOW ON WHICH TO WRITE HIS COMPLETE ANSWER.

54

55

56

57

58

126. Es (era) su esposa (o) de descendencia Mejicana?

59

No	0
Si.	1 → (Pase a P. 127)

126a. Cual es su descendencia?

60 (DON'T READ THESE CATEGORIES, JUST CLASSIFY THE RESPONSE IN ONE OF THEM)

Anglo	1
Cubano	2
Puerto Riqueno	3
Otro Latino Americano	4
Negro	5

126. Is (was) your wife (husband) of Mexican-American background?

No	0
Yes	1 → (Skip to Q. 127)

126a. What is her background?

(DON'T READ THESE CATEGORIES, JUST CLASSIFY THE RESPONSE IN ONE OF THEM)

Anglo	1
Cuban	2
Puerto Rican	3
Other Latin American	4
Negro	5

61 127. En dónde se nació su papá?--en los Estados Unidos, en México, o en algún otro lado?

62 Y su mamá?

63 Y sus abuelos?

(NOTE RESPONSES BELOW, GETTING YEAR WHEN CAME TO U.S. IF BORN OUTSIDE OF THE U.S.)

127. Where was your father born?--in the U.S., in Mexico, or somewhere else?

And your mother?

And your grandparents?

(NOTE RESPONSES BELOW, GETTING YEAR WHEN CAME TO U.S. IF BORN OUTSIDE)

64

65

66

CHECK WITH ANSWERS ON PAGE 3 → Respondent himself, Respondent's spouse

	Born in:			Approximate Year When Came to U.S.
	U.S.	MEXICO	ELSEWHERE	
67 68 Respondent himself	1	2	3	
69 Respondent's spouse	1	2	3	
70 Respondent's father	1	2	3	
71 72 Respondent's mother	1	2	3	
73 Respondent's grandparents	*	*	*	**

74

75 * INDICATE THE NUMBER OF GRANDPARENTS BORN IN EACH PLACE

76 ** OBTAIN THE YEAR ONLY FOR THE FIRST (EARLIEST) GRANDPARENT TO COME TO THE U.S.

77

128. Tiene Ud. parientes o familia que viven en México ahora?

No	0
Si	1
No sabe	9

128. Do you have any relatives or family who live in Mexico now?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't know	9

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

129. Ha ido Ud. alguna vez a México de visita?

No	0	→ (Pase a P. 130)
Si	1	

129. Have you ever been to Mexico for a visit?

No	0	→ (Skip to Q. 130)
Yes	1	

9

129a. Cuantas veces ha visitado a México desde que vino a vivir en Michigan?

No. Times:______

129a. How many times have you visited Mexico, since you have lived in Michigan? 10

No. Times:______ 11

130. (UNLESS BORN IN MICHIGAN) En comparación con ...(pueblo de donde vino)...cómo se compara el trato que le dan aquí a los Mejicanos? Diría que:

(READ CATEGORIES)

Es mejor aquí?	1
Lo mismo aquí?, o	2
Peor aquí?	3

130. (UNLESS BORN IN MICHIGAN) How does the treatment of Mexican-Americans here compare with what it was like back in ...(place of origin)? Is it:

Better here?	1
About the same here?	2
Worse here?	3

12

131. (ASK EVERYBODY) Cuánto cree Ud. que los políticos y funcionarios Anglos de por aquí saben de nuestros problemas? Cree Ud. que:

(READ CATEGORIES)

Están bien informados?	1
Un poco informados?, o	2
Mal informados?	3
No sabe (DON'T READ)	9

131. (ASK EVERYBODY) How much do you think that the Anglo politicians and officials around here know about our problems? Are they:

(READ CATEGORIES)

Well informed?	1
Somewhat informed?, or	2
Poorly informed?	3
Don't know (DON'T READ)	9

13

132. Y cuánto cree Ud. que los funcionarios y políticos Anglos de por aquí están haciendo para ayudar a resolver estos problemas? Diría Ud. que están haciendo:

(READ CATEGORIES)

Bastante?	1
Un poco?, o	2
Nada?	3
Don't know (DON'T READ)	9

132. And how much do you think the Anglo politicians and officials around here are doing to help solve our problems? Are they doing:

(READ CATEGORIES)

Quite a bit?	1
A little?, or	2
Nothing at all?	3
Don't know (DON'T READ)	9

14

133. Las declaraciones siguientes son sólo para preguntarle su opinión. Para nosotros no hay contestaciones "buenas" ni "malas" de estas preguntas. Lo único que nos interesa es lo que Ud. piensa. Sería tan amable de decirme si está o no está de acuerdo con estas declaraciones?

133. The following statements are simply to ask you your opinions. As far as we are concerned, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. We are merely interested in what you think. Would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

		AGREE Acuerdo	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE Desacuerdo	
a. Los Mejicanos muy seguido culpamos a otros americanos por nuestra situación, pero en realidad es nuestra la culpa.	Mexican-Americans often blame other Americans for our situation, but it's really our own fault.	1	2	3	15
b. No creo que a los funcionarios públicos les importa mucho las opiniones de una persona como yo.	I don't think that public officials care much what people like me think.	1	2	3	16
c. Parece que la gente Mejicana tiene problemas en unirse politicamente.	People of Mexican background seem to have trouble uniting politically.	1	2	3	7
d. La gente como yo no cuenta en las decisiones del gobierno.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	1	2	3	18
e. Todos los Mejicanos debería de agruparse politicamente con los Negros.	People of Mexican background should get together politically with Negroes.	1	2	3	19
f. A veces las cuestiones de la política y del gobierno parecen tan complicadas que una persona como yo no puede entender lo que pasa.	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	1	2	3	20
g. Los Mejicanos en esta ciudad tienen que trabajar más que Anglos para adelantarse.	Mexican-Americans in this town have to work harder than Anglos to get ahead.	1	2	3	21
h. El voto es el único medio que tenemos la gente como yo para influir en el modo en que el gobierno decide los asuntos.	Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.	1	2	3	22

134. Hablando con la gente sobre si votaron o no, nos damos cuenta que muchas personas no pudieron votar porque no se habían registrado (inscrito), o porque estaban infermos, o porque simplemente no tuvieron tiempo para hacerlo. Y usted? Está usted registrado (inscrito) para votar?

23

No	0
Sí	1

134. In talking to people about voting we find that quite a few people were not able to vote because they were not registered, or they were sick, or they just did not have time. How about you? Are you registered to vote?

No	0
Yes	1

135. Votó usted en las últimas elecciones presidenciales, de 1964?

24

No	0
Sí	1

135. Did you happen to vote in the last Presidential election , in 1964?

No	0
Yes	1

136. Durante los últimos años ha votado Ud. para cualquier funcionario de la ciudad o del condado --tales como: mayor, county sheriff, city councilman, school board members, and so on?

25

No	0
Sí	1

136. During the last few years have you voted for any city or county officials?—such as: mayor, county sheriff, city councilmen, school board members, and so on.

No	0
Yes	1

137. A proposito, cuando usted compra cosas que cuestan bastante dinero, ahorra usted hasta que tenga suficiente dinero para comprarlas, o las compra en crédito.

26

Ahorra dinero y paga "cash"	1
Las compra a crédito	2
Las dos cosas (DON'T READ)	3

137. By the way, when you buy things that cost a lot of money, do you usually save up to pay cash for them, or do you buy them on credit?

Usually save up and pay cash	1
Usually buy them on credit	2
Both (DON'T READ)	3

138. Cuántos carros tienen ustedes?--ya sea su propio carro o algún otro que pertenezca a otro miembro de la familia de aquí de su casa?

27 No. Carros:_____ (SI NO HAY, Pase a P. 139)

PARA CADA CARRO, PREGUNTE:

138a. Qué marca es?
138b. Qué año es?
28 138c. En qué año lo compró?

138. How many automobiles do you have?--either your own car or any car owned by other members of your household?

No. Cars:_____ (IF NONE, Skip to Q. 139)

FOR EACH CAR, ASK:

138a. What make is it?
138b. What model year is it?
138c. In what year did you buy it?

29

(a) MAKE(S)	(b) MODEL YEAR	(c) YEAR PURCHASED

139. Tiene Ud., o algüien de su familia aquí en su
30 casa:

	No	Sí
31 Una póliza de seguro de vida?	0	1
32 Una póliza de seguro de salud?	0	1
Cuenta de cheques en el banco?	0	1

SI TIENE CUENTA DE CHEQUES:

Es un "joint account" de Ud. y su esposa?

33

No	0
Sí	1

139. Do you, or any other member of your family here in your house have:

	No	Yes
A life insurance policy?	0	1
A health insurance policy?	0	1
A bank checking account?	0	1

IF HAVE CHECKING ACCOUNT:

Is it a joint account with you and your wife?

No	0
Yes	1

140. Una de las maneras que mucha gente trata de resolver problemas de dinero es ahorrando, para así tener dinero cuando lo necesiten. Tienen Uds. dinero ahorrado, ya sea en "cash", o en una cuenta de ahorros, en bonos, acciones, o de algún otro
34 modo?

No	0	→(Pase a P. 141)
Sí	1	→(Haga P. 140a)

140. One way that some people try to cut down on money problems is to save so that they will have cash when they need it. Do you have any money saved, either in cash or in a savings account, in bonds or securities, or any other savings?

No	0	→(Skip to Q. 141)
Yes	1	→(Ask Q. 140a)

140a. (SI TIENEN AHORROS, PREGUNTE:) Como cuánto dinero tienen ahorrado actualmente? Como:

(READ)

$500 o más?	3
Más de $100, pero menos de $500?	2
Menos de $100?	1

140a. (IF HAVE SAVINGS, ASK:) About how much do you have saved at present? Is it: 35

(READ)

$500 or more?	3
More than $100, but less than $500?	2
Less than $100?	1

141. Durante el año pasado, pidió Ud. dinero prestado en alguno de los lugares siguientes? (READ)

141. During the past year, have you borrowed money from any of the following places? (READ)

		No	Yes	
Banco	Bank	0	1	36
Compania de préstamos	Loan company	0	1	37
Prestamista particular	Private lender	0	1	38
Casa de empeño	Pawnshop	0	1	39
Familia	Family	0	1	40
Amigos	Friends	0	1	41
Jefe o patron	Boss at work	0	1	42
Unión de Crédito	Credit Union	0	1	43
Otro?	Other	0	1	44

Explicar: ______

______

142. Como Ud. bien sabe, hay muchos modos en que una familia puede recibir sus entradas, aparte de sólo los sueldos. Quisiera mencionar algunos de estos modos y por favor dígame, por cada uno, si Ud. u otro miembro de su familia en esta casa recibieron entradas de este modo durante los pasados 12 meses.

142. As you know, there are many ways in addition to wages and salaries by which a family can receive its income. I'd like to mention some of these possible sources of income, and would you please tell me, for each source, whether or not you or any other member of your household received income from this source during the past 12 months.

INTERVIEWER: READ EACH ITEM IN ITS ORDER BELOW AND ASCERTAIN IF THE RESPONDENT OR ANY OTHER FAMILY MEMBER IN THE HOUSEHOLD RECEIVED ANY INCOME FROM THAT SOURCE DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS

		No	Yes	
Sueldo o salario del empleo	Wages or salary from a regular job	0	1	45
Trabajo adicional aparte del empleo normal	Additional work apart from the regular job	0	1	46
Entradas de un negocio o tienda	Income from a business or shop	0	1	47
Entradas de rancho	Income from a farm or ranch	0	1	48
Pagos a los veteranos	Veterans payments	0	1	49
Unemployment compensation	Unemployment compensation	0	1	50
Pagos del Welfare - ADC	Welfare-ADC payments	0	1	51
Pagos del Seguro Social (Social Security)	Social Security payments	0	1	52
Otras pensiones, anuidades, o seguros	Other pensions, annuities, or insurance	0	1	53
Renta de propiedades o terreno	Rents from property or land (real estate)	0	1	54
Renta de equipo o maquinaria	Rent of equipment or machinery	0	1	55
Cuarto y comida de personas que viven en su casa	Room and board from persons in own home	0	1	56
Pago del gobierno para el programa de agricultura	Gov't payment from the agricultural program	0	1	57
Regalos o propinas	Gifts or tips	0	1	58
Intereses o dividendos de bonos o acciones	Interest or dividends from stocks and bonds	0	1	59
Alguna otra forma de entrada?(Qué?)	Any other source of income? (Que?)	0	1	60

143. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD) Ahora, pensando en todas las formas de entrada de su familia, que Ud. ya me mencionó, quisiera que usara esta tarjeta para darme una idea de la entrada total de su familia el año pasado, antes de taxes(impuestos). Por favor, sólo dígame la letra de la categoría en la cual cabe sus entradas totales. No hay que decirme la cantidad exacta.

143. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD) Now, thinking about all the sources of your family's income, which you mentioned to me, I would like you to use this card to estimate your family's total income last year before taxes. Please just indicate the letter of the income category into which your estimate falls. You don't have to tell me the exact amount. 61

INTERVIEWER: YOU MAY HAVE TO ASSIST RESPONDENT TO ESTIMATE HIS TOTAL INCOME

A.	Under $1,500 a year	OR:	A.	Under $29 a week	A	1
B.	$1,500 to $1,999 a year	OR:	B.	$29 to $37.50 a week	B	2
C.	$2,000 to $2,999 a year	OR:	C.	$38 to $57.50 a week	C	3
D.	$3,000 to $3,999 a year	OR:	D.	$58 to $76.50 a week	D	4
E.	$4,000 to $4,999 a year	OR:	E.	$77 to $95.50 a week	E	5
F.	$5,000 to $6,999 a year	OR:	F.	$96 to $134.50 a week	F	6
G.	$7,000 to $9,999 a year	OR:	G.	$135 to $192.50 a week	G	7
H.	$10,000 to $14,999 a year	OR:	H.	$193 to $288.50 a week	H	8
I.	$15,000 or more a year	OR:	I.	$289 or more a week	I	9
	Respondent refused to estimate income					0
	Respondent claimed he was unablo to estimate income					0

INTERVIEWER: TELL US WHETHER YOU FEEL THAT THE RESPONDENT ESTIMATED A REASONABLY ACCURATE FIGURE. IF YOU FEEL THAT THE INCOME REPORTED IS INACCURATE, PLEASE NOTE DOWN YOUR OWN ESTIMATE OF IT

______

______

______

CHECK OVER INTERVIEW BEFORE LEAVING TO MAKE SURE YOU HAVEN'T SKIPPED ANY PAGES. THEN FILL OUT BACK PAGE (32) IMMEDIATELY UPON LEAVING.

INTERVIEWER: FILL OUT THIS PAGE IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING

62 I. LANGUAGE in which the interview was conducted:

Entirely in Spanish	1
Mostly in Spanish	2
About half Spanish, half English	3
Mostly in English	4
Entirely in English	5

II. Was anyone else present during (any part) of the interview?

No	0
Yes	1

63 (a) Who?________________ (b) How long?__________ ←

64 ________________

65 (c) Did this effect the interview in any way? If so, how? ____________________

66 III. Were there any other conditions present that may have
67 affected the interview? (What were they?) ____________________

____

68 IV. RAPPORT with respondent was:

1___ Excellent: Very harmonious atmosphere throughout interview; respondent was cordial.

2___ Good: Respondent sufficiently friendly for good rapport; no show of hostility; courteous, polite.

3___ Poor: Respondent was very reserved, suspicious, curt, but not hostile.

4___ Almost non-existent: Respondent hostile toward interview situation; repeated threat of breakoff, or actual breakoff of interview occurred.

5___ Not able to determine

69 [redacted]

No	0
Yes	1

70 VI. Did the house contain any ART OBJECTS or PICTURES?

No	0
Yes	1

→ What kind?

	No	Yes
71 Mexican	0	1
72 American	0	1
73 Religious	0	1
Other	0	1

← Describe:________

74 ________________

VII. Did you observe any of the following READING MATERIALS in the house?

	No	Yes
75 Books	0	1
76 Magazines	0	1
77 Newspapers	0	1

VIII. CONDITION of the HOUSE (interior)

Furnishings

78 (CHECK ONE)

Expensive, luxurious furniture & furnishings	1
Medium-priced furniture & furnishings	2
Inexpensive, cheap furniture & furnishings	3

Cleanliness & Orderliness

79 (CHECK ONE)

Immaculately clean & orderly	1
Adequately clean & orderly, though not necessarily spotless or fastidiously arranged	2
Disorderly and dirty	3

IX. Did you get any further insight or information about the respondent, that you have not reported elsewhere, that would help in understanding the interview?

PLEASE DESCRIBE:____________________

____

INTERVIEWER: MAKE SURE THAT YOU HAVE ALSO FILLED IN THE ITEMS ON PAGE 2 OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

END